Vol. X. No. 39 *September, 1921*

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on
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The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 30th June, 1921.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ..	£42,506	7	7
To which has to be added —			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	15,287	18	6
	£57,794	6	1
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund	£10,000	0	0
And to Credit of Investments Account	12,500	0	0
They recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Nine per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	22,500	0	0
To next Account	12,794	6	1
	£57,794	6	1

The Directors have to record with deep regret the death, on the 5th ultimo, of their valued colleague, MR. MATTHEW JOSEPH MINCH, J.P., who was a member of the Board from April, 1914. The vacancy thus created has been filled by the co-option of MR. WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN, and it is anticipated that this selection will meet with the approval of the Shareholders.

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The Arbitration Award relative to Irish Bank Officials' Pensions being now in force, the object with which the Officers' Superannuation Fund was being built up is thereby superseded. The amount of the Fund has been transferred to credit of the Investments Account, and the Investments representing the Fund are now included in the general Investments of the Bank.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1921.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1921. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	2,474,585 11 1
,, Reserve Fund	190,000 0 0	,, Treasury Bills	1,500,000 0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	14,952,573 4 2	,, Investments, viz.:— War Loans and other Government Stocks	5,164,118 0
,, Sundry Agents	30,670 2 9	Colonial Government Stocks, Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and Mortgage Bonds, and other Securities ...	629,641 7
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	15,018 15 0		9,768,344 19
,, Profit and Loss Account £57,794 6 1		,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	5,789,640 17 1
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund £10,000		,, Sundry Agents	17,735 0
Placed to Credit of Investment Account £12,500 22,500 0 0		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 55 Branches), written down to	147,835 10
	35,294 6 1		
	£15,723,556 8 0		£15,723,556 8

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1921.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	98,620 15 2	By Balance from last Account ...	15,287 18
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	141,127 2
,, Amount placed to Credit of Investments Account	12,500 0 0		
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1921, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. ... 22,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 12,794 6 1			
	35,294 6 1		
	£156,415 1 3		£156,415 1

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. The War Stocks and War Bonds stand in the Balance Sheet at cost price, and all the other Investments at the market prices current on 30th June, 1921. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
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STUDIES

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SEPTEMBER 1921

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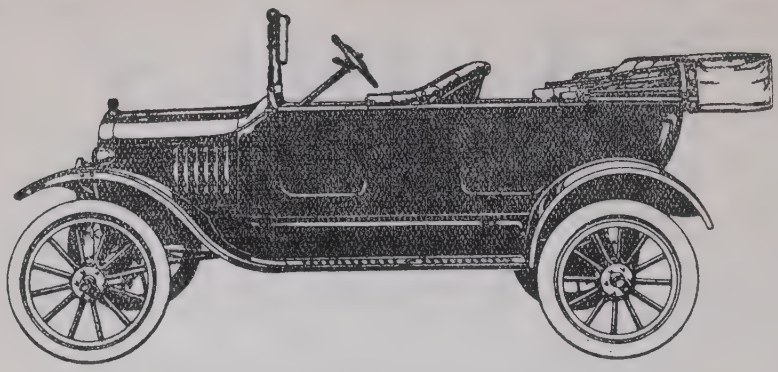

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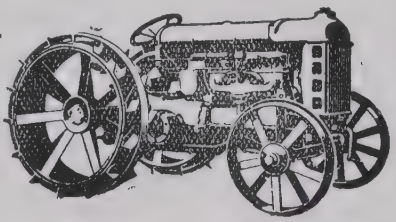

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SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLITICS.

BY MICHAEL CRONIN, M.A., D.D.

Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin.

THE changes and re-adjustments necessitated by the new order of things created by the war are many and slow of coming. Up to now the attention of statesmen has been chiefly directed to the economic needs of the belligerents and to fixing the boundaries of the newly created European states. In the former connection it will take years before equilibrium in the different commercial centres is attained. In the latter the stabilising process is already far advanced; probably another year will see the end of the present uncertainties and then Europe may begin to set quietly about building itself up again.

But when all these affairs, almost wholly international in character, have been composed, there will still remain another set of problems to be grappled with, viz., the internal political affairs of the chief states, both those that have been victorious in the war, and the neutral countries. The defeated and newly created states have, of course, accepted completely new constitutions. To these we make no reference here. But in America, France, and England new distributions of political authority will have to be made: first, as between legislature and executive; secondly, as between these and the people of the state; and thirdly, in the domain of financial administration, where most of all the principle of responsibility and the existing machinery of control will need to be revised.

Even before the war great revolutionary changes had

begun to appear, and a good deal of experience has been gained which will be of immense value in estimating how far the lines already marked out may profitably be followed, and how far further new departures are required. But the war has trebled and quadrupled the importance of these problems. Men that have fought and suffered for the state are already claiming a greater controlling influence over it; legislatures that during the war suffered themselves to be eclipsed by the executive are asking whether they should be content even with a reversion to their former position; and the slip-shod financial contrivances that did well enough before 1914 will not be acquiesced in, now that enormous burdens are pressing on the people and taxation has become a nightmare.

In the present article a brief reference is made to a few of those problems of government, both those which were engaging the attention of students of Political Science immediately before 1914, and those which have since been created by the conditions induced by the war.

The first problem is that of the retention of the system of cabinet government under which the members of the executive are chosen from, and are jointly responsible to parliament. Before the war it was taken for granted in England and France that the cabinet system was the best of all and most suited to the genius of the two peoples. It was thought to ensure the dominance of the people's representatives over the government and thus to secure in the fullest way the freedom and welfare of the community. It was regarded also as making for harmony between legislature and executive, and therefore as offering the best guarantee of efficiency and smooth working in time not only of peace but of war as well. There is hardly a single one of those claims that would now be sure of acceptance amongst thinking men, and some of them are found to be utterly at variance with fact. Take

the question of the efficiency of cabinet government in England during the recent war. Even in the opinion of such an admirer of English traditions as Prof. Dicey the cabinet system broke down hopelessly as soon as any real strain was put upon it, and was largely responsible for England's terrible losses and almost complete collapse in the field.

Is it [he writes] absolutely impossible that the ingenuity and the patriotism of England may discover some constitutional arrangement which would give, say, during a time of war to some leader of the nation the independence and the patriotic supremacy which have made the name of Lincoln[1] as famous and revered as that of Washington ?

And again :—

In spite of all these advantages, and in spite of final triumph, the system of cabinet government did, during the war, if I do not say break down, certainly exhibit its very weak side. Many and many were the persons during the stress of war and the knowledge of failures—say at the time when England could not save Belgium, or even protect Antwerp from a ruthless foe, or when Servia was invaded and conquered by our enemies, or when British armies were forced to retreat from Gallipoli—who said : "Oh, that we could have a dictator." Then again, the government itself felt that a concentration of power foreign to the system of cabinet government was a necessity for the country. The coalition of hitherto adverse parties, the creation first of a war council and then of a war cabinet, were, in the main, efforts of patriotism. But the war cabinet, to take a perfectly clear case, was really inconsistent with the form of government eulogised by Bagehot. Add to all this that the working of parliamentary government since the beginning of the war has exhibited the inherent defect of cabinet government, namely, its constant dependence for office upon the will of parliament or rather, of the House of Commons. Can anyone suppose that a good number of appointments which excited the blame of many of the public, and some things in the conduct of the war, as also the large size of the ministry outside the war cabinet were not due to the desire to conciliate, or not to offend individuals or parties whose influence in parliament might affect the existence of the cabinet.[2]

[1] During a war the President of America becomes practically a dictator.

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1919.

Evidently then the same "smooth working" which Bagehot regarded as the chief and most beneficial effect of cabinet administration, if obtainable in peace times, is not ensurable under conditions of war.

It was held also that the cabinet system is the surest guarantee of the supremacy of the people's representatives over the government, since first the members of the government are chosen from parliament, and, secondly, the government has to resign when parliament so desires. And this is true so long as parliament retains its independence of government, particularly in the matter of patronage. But as is evident from the passage I have just quoted, this was not the condition of things that obtained during the war, and it does not represent the conditions obtaining now.

Parliament is now the servant of the government, not its master. Abstracting altogether from the question of the parliamentary salary, we know that an enormous number of positions have been created by the government for their followers in parliament, and we know also that many of those who are not directly in the pay of the government are in a position to benefit, perhaps not personally but certainly through interests which they represent, by their support of it. Under such conditions the uncertainties of a general election must act as a restraining influence even in a parliament disapproving of the ways of the administration. Over and over again Mr. Lloyd George has been able to quell criticism in parliament by a threat to resign and to force an election. The government therefore has succeeded in obtaining the whip hand over parliament and is likely to retain its advantage for a long time to come. In other words, since the beginning of the war England has foregone the effects of a hundred years of its political development. It is now in the position that it occupied before 1834, the year which is supposed to mark the end of the old period of tyranny in the sense of the supremacy of the

executive over the people's representatives. Long before that year the elder Pitt considered that the House was too subservient to the government. It took everything on the word of a minister.

> I wish [he said] the House had not this habit. But, so it is, even that chair, Mr. Speaker, looks too often to St. James's. When I was in office it annoyed me that no one would make any objection to the war. Night after night I came down and said: Is any gentleman against a war? No one would avow it; at last one gentleman, who has since gone to the other House, said he did not like a war. I honoured him for it and was sorry when he left us.

Is not this the condition of things obtaining now? The House now looks to Downing Street, or rather, has eyes for no other place.

As to the remedy for this sort of thing, I see no other except a return to a more complete acceptance of Montesquieu's theory of the separation of the powers. The members of the government and all holding office under government should be debarred from membership of parliament. It is so in America and it is so in Switzerland. Only in this way is a parliament guaranteed to the people as independent of the executive, and free to criticise a government in the interest of the community. Such separation need not exclude ministers from speaking in the House, from introducing measures there, or even from seeing a measure through. In America and Switzerland the government may appear before parliament to defend its administration. But until members are debarred from holding office under the executive there is always danger of what Seeley mildly speaks of as the "influence" of government over parliament, and therefore of a parliament not faithful to its mandate as the defender of the people's rights against the executive. Whether as a substitute for the cabinet system the American idea of a purely party executive should be adopted or the Swiss view of a coalition executive representative of all parties, with, in both cases, a fixed term of office, is a question to which no

general answer could be returned. Certainly in Ireland, where some form of home government must sooner or later be set up, I should have no difficulty in recommending the Swiss system as making more assuredly for quiet continuous development and as better calculated to bring the full energy and talent of the nation, independently of party or religion, into the public service.

The next problem which has already engaged the attention of most peoples and is bound soon to become urgent in England and France is that of a more direct popular control over legislation than that which is given to the people by their right of electing the legislative body. It has been solved in some places by the institution of *referendum* and *initiative*, in others by granting to the people a power of *recall*. In most of the states of America, in Switzerland, and in the new Germany, the people are given a right of referendum and initiative. The recall, so far as I know, does not exist outside of America. Most people are familiar with the terms referendum and initiative, more particularly the former, which has found frequent mention on party platforms in England. It means generally that a bill which has passed through parliament must, sometimes at the express instance of a certain proportion of the electorate, sometimes without any such petition, be submitted for ratification by the whole people before it can become a law. The conditions laid down for the exercise of this right vary in different countries, and need not be enumerated here. They are not of importance for our present enquiry. The *initiative* is a much bigger concession to democratic sentiment than the referendum. As the name implies, it means the right of the people to prepare a legislative measure independently altogether of parliament, to send that measure to parliament for discussion, and in some places—*e.g.*, in the new Germany—to have that measure referred to the people should parlia-

ment reject it, in which case acceptance by the people gives to the proposed measure the full *status* of a law.

A general discussion on the merits and demerits of referendum and initiative would be out of place in the present article. They are both working factors in a number of modern constitutions and must be accepted as such. Their further extension in the near future, both in America and Europe, is certain. Also they represent rights which once enjoyed by the people are not likely to be ever again surrendered. In England the referendum has been freely discussed, and its adoption would hardly excite much opposition on the part of any party in parliament. In regard to the initiative, on the contrary, the different groups in parliament are uncommonly and ominously silent. They would, I am sure, not favour it: they would regard it as a too grave usurpation of parliamentary authority, and probably also as a stimulus to revolution. But of these two there can be no doubt that the initiative alone represents any real check on party intrigue in parliament, and therefore it alone would be of real value to the people as against a parliament unmindful of their interests. It is very seldom that the exercise of the referendum would be seriously needed in England, because it is seldom that parliament will introduce a measure likely to meet with general disfavour. To do so would be to court general opposition at the next election and possibly also the repeal of the offending law. The referendum therefore, taken by itself, is seldom of much use to any people. When granted without the initiative it is nothing more than a harmless sop to the vanity of a populace ignorant of where its real strength lies.

But the initiative is a powerful instrument in the hands of the voters as against an intriguing and, more particularly, a designedly inactive parliament. Positive action will always excite more of praise or blame than mere inaction. And so without the right of initiative a people will often acquiesce in parliamentary inaction and

indifference even in regard to a measure that is widely desired, because they are without the means of provoking parliament to bring it on. But granted a right of initiative, a section of the people alive to the public interests have it in their power to force the hands of parliament, and to compel at least the introduction and serious consideration of a measure which otherwise for their own purposes the parliamentary parties might agree to shelve or defer. Once such a measure was brought into existence, and popular enthusiasm had been awakened, its rejection in parliament would be of the nature of a positive act for which an account should later be rendered to the people at the polls. There is no doubt that if a right of initiative existed in England during the last twenty years parliament would not have been allowed to leave the Irish question in the pitiful position it has occupied during all that time.

In Switzerland it was the initiative, and not the referendum, that proved of chief value to the people against an apathetic and designing group of parliamentary parties in a matter that threatened a most vital interest of the nation. For years it was felt that the sale of absinthe had become a danger to the public health. But the manufacturers and retailers of absinthe were able so to " influence " the parliamentary groups as to suppress all consideration of the evil in the federal parliament. At length in 1908 a most dreadful case of suicide moved the voters to take the matter into their own hands. In face of much opposition in parliament they initiated and carried through legislation forbidding the manufacture or sale of absinthe in any part of the Confederation.

Of course the initiative has its drawbacks. Through it any party of cranks might keep the nation constantly irritated by putting before it schemes unwanted by any large section of the people. But effective remedies are not wanting to prevent the introduction of extravagant or useless measures. For instance, whereas in Switzer-

land it is only required that a proposal be made in rough form, in the New Germany persons having recourse to initiative must go to the trouble and expense of drafting a measure in full detail before it will be considered in parliament. Another remedy would be to increase the necessary number of signatures to such an extent as to rule out small unimportant combinations. For instance, for a measure obviously of no public importance it would not be easy to secure the signature of 60,000 persons. It might even be possible to put a charge upon measures not supported by a definite proportion of the voters as is done at present in England in elections to parliament.

The *recall* is another instrument for securing popular control over the legislature. It is now operative in a large number of the states of America, in connection with the local legislatures, but has not been applied to the federal parliament. Under this system any member of parliament who ceases to represent the popular interests may be recalled by the people before his period of office expires. It has recently been extended to other sorts of elective offices than those of the legislatures, and in some states it has actually been made applicable to appointive—*i.e.*, non-elective offices also.

The recall is not a system that I should care to see adopted generally. It certainly does not help to stabilise political systems anywhere; in Ireland, under a new form of government, it would almost be equivalent to a series of petty revolutions and reduce the country to anarchy. A parliament elected on its own merits should be allowed to follow out a definite line of policy until it has to retire as a whole. To recall individuals as one caprice succeeds another in the constituencies would mean the continued disintegration of parliament and its permanent paralysis. Besides, men of self-respect would not become candidates for offices which they could not count on holding for a day, and so parliament would come in time to be occupied by adventurers and worthless

people more interested in the uncertainty and excitement of a political gamble than in the slow and tedious work of consolidation and development. It would create frequent opportunities for the intrusion of private enmities into politics, always, of course, under the guise of supposed public interest, the body of the people being as a rule in no position to distinguish between the two. I am not able to say how far the recall finds favour with thoughtful men in America. But its popularity, if it be popular, in a country where private citizens so often take the law into their own hands and are used to show distrust of their own elected officers would be no guarantee of its successful application elsewhere.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that, though either the recall or the referendum might become necessary as a safeguard to the popular interests under certain circumstances, it is hard to see that both can ever be necessary together. Where the referendum exists, the recall must be superfluous, and what is superfluous in any political system is bound in the end to prove pernicious.

Amongst recent problems in "representation" the most important is that of the "class" or "vocational" electorate *versus* the "regional." The problem has become familiar to us since the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia, which is based almost wholly on the idea of avocation (viz., that of labour) as the foundation of the electorate. But a wider and freer "vocational" policy, in which not only labour in general but each kind of labour and every calling in life is recognised as entitled to representation, has been advocated in other countries; and it is this less narrow and certainly more promising form of the theory which concerns us in the present article.

Briefly this problem is a comparison between the system at present adopted in England (under which the unit of representation is purely regional, all classes of

persons within a certain area uniting together to form the electorate and all being represented by a single member or group of members) and a system in which each class or avocation is given distinct representation independently of local boundaries. In the first system the unit is London, Dublin, Edinburgh, or some part of these; in the second the unit is the doctor class all over the country, the clergy, the capitalist, the artist, the teacher, the agricultural labourer, the industrial worker, with further subdivisions of the latter class into bricklayers, weavers, boiler-makers, etc., etc., the representation accorded to each class being proportioned to numbers exclusively.[1]

This idea of the vocational electorate is not new. It seems to have been advocated by Aristotle in Book IV of his Politics, where he says: "It is a good plan that those who deliberate (*i.e.*, the legislators) should be elected by vote or lot in equal numbers out of the different classes." In a later period the "estates of the realm" represented in the parliaments of Europe were only the different classes into which the community was divided. The Upper House in England is still representative of a class only. Some writers are of opinion that the regional basis should be eliminated altogether as wholly out of touch with the modern spirit. Others would advocate its joint adoption with the class division. Thus in a recent work on this important subject the view advanced is that, whereas a Lower House might be elected on the regional basis, the Upper House should represent the different classes of the community. In favour of the principle of vocational representation generally, the chief point urged is that, whereas mere propinquity was the chief bond uniting individuals together in the olden days when the means of communication were poor and inadequate, at present the regional unit has lost all its importance.

[1] Modifications based on the quality and value of the work done have also been advocated; but the difficulties here are insurmountable.

There are stronger ties binding together the doctor class all over the country than those obtaining between a doctor in London and the solicitor living next door. The class consciousness, it is maintained, is a much more serious thing in our modern life than the regional consciousness, and is rapidly coming to dominate all social relations. For instance, the biggest combination of men that the modern world has seen, viz., the trade unions, is a combination based on the complete rejection of the regional unit and the complete acceptance of the class idea both in the economic and the political sphere.

On the other side and in favour of the system of local electoral divisions many arguments are to be found of which the following are the most prominent. First, the difficulty is emphasised of determining the number of interests to be represented, there being innumerable interests in human life, none of which could be spoken of as unimportant. Secondly, there is the difficulty of the cross-division. A shop-keeper may also be a doctor or barrister; a clergyman may be also a farmer. Thirdly, it would not be easy to determine the voting power of any particular class. There are more doctors than engineers in Ireland, yet who will say that the engineering profession is not as important as the medical. Indeed in this connection, we shall find ourselves faced with the very serious problem whether mere numbers are to determine the voting strength of the different callings, and whether, therefore, wisdom, education, rare ability and value generally are to be ignored. If numbers alone are to tell, and I do not see how any other principle could be successfully employed, then the only practical solution of the present problem would be a labour autocracy of the most uncompromising kind. The Russian labour soviet would seem to be the only logical outcome of the class as opposed to the regional electorate. Fourthly, the vocational electorate is opposed to the essential function of the parliamentary body. Under

this system the members of parliament, who as members are supposed to legislate in the interest of all, would be professionally obliged to legislate in the interest of a section only. There is no other reason for the system than this. Under the regional system, on the other hand, although a member is elected by a particular constituency he is supposed to legislate, not in the interest of that constituency alone, but of the whole country. Fifthly, interests which are identical to-day may be divergent to-morrow, and so it is very difficult to say what interests should be grouped together to form a unit. Also a group when formed may very quickly be dissolved again, its elected representative in the meantime being in the position of having to stand for a constituency divided against itself. For instance, in a recent strike in England the miners and railwaymen, though at first united, ended by being bitterly opposed. This same might happen to any class. In the regional constituency such a clash of interest could not affect the unit represented, which being regional is always the same. Finally, the proposed innovation is unnecessary. Especially under a system of proportional representation there is hardly any important class that could not so combine and manipulate the vote as not to secure representation of some sort, even a representation proportioned to their members. I admit that some small but important classes are not in a position to do this; but in general it will be found that these are the very classes that are most opposed to the vocational electorate.

I doubt whether the idea of the class electorate will ever be popular except with a body like labour, overwhelmingly more numerous than all the rest. Most professions that want to be represented in parliament will prefer to take their chances under the regional system.

The last problem to be considered is that of financial administration. Already the governments are over-

hauling the machinery of financial control, and rival systems are constantly being compared. In England an immense change occurred in 1919, though few people outside parliament seemed to realise its importance. Up to that year the whole work of criticising the estimates of expenditure and safeguarding parliament and the people against waste and extravagance, on the part of the government, was entrusted to the committee of supply, a committee of the whole House—*i.e.*, it was nothing more than the whole House acting as a committee. The time allotted for discussion was very short, the speeches delivered were political rather than economic, a few votes only were considered, and in the end practically the whole body of the estimates went through without discussion of any kind. In this way parliament had for years practically abdicated its position of controller of the public purse. In 1919 Mr. Law introduced proposals, the effect of which was to take the consideration of the estimates out of the hands of the committee of supply and to place it in those of a small parliamentary committee, mostly experts, who though they could not possibly discuss all the votes were able to give attention to those most needing revision. The change was important, so far as it went. But it did not go half far enough. As a matter of fact it left untouched what I might call the essential scandal of the financial system of England.

Let me explain. The time for effecting economies in expenditure is not that at which the completed estimates are presented to parliament for discussion, but a period long before—that, viz., in which the estimates are being formed in the first instance down in the spending departments. It is universally admitted that once an item is entered in the estimates, it is a thousand chances to one that it will remain there. If we might perpetrate an Irish Bull in connection with so unpromising a subject, the only way to get an item out of the estimates is never to put it there. Now parliament has very little to do

with the formation of the estimates. Through the Treasury (the watch-dog of parliament) it does intervene in the formation of the civil service estimates, but it has nothing whatever to do with the army and navy estimates in the making. These latter are drawn up by the military and naval authorities in conjunction, not with the Treasury officials, but with financial committees within the departments themselves. As a consequence, the army and navy estimates are not subject to review by any outside authority, such as the Treasury is, during the only period at which economies could be effected and some check placed on the known extravagance of the army and navy departments. It is no wonder, therefore, that during the war, expenditure should have been what it was, and that it should continue to be what it now is, a monstrous imposition making for all round financial ruin. Let us hope that, whatever the form of government is to be set up in Ireland, this part at all events of British financial procedure will not be imitated.

But the burden now weighing upon England is likely to raise problems of far wider significance than that of the mere machinery of control. A question that is certain to force itself upon thinking men as soon as they are awakened to a consciousness of their real position is that of the continuance of the present system under which the whole responsibility for the formation and presentation of the budget (including revenue and expenditure) is left to the government, parliament being given the rôle of critic only. In France and America it is not so. In both of these countries the people who frame the financial proposals of the year, at all events in their completed state, are, not the government, but special parliamentary committees representing the different parties in parliament. This system is based on a very wise principle of ordinary business, that the spenders of money are not the best judges of how much is to be spent, but rather the people who have to supply the money,

or their representatives. Granted, of course, a certain amount of consultation between ministers and the agents of parliament as to the necessary undertakings of the coming year and their cost, the functions of the ministers, it is contended, should go no further. It should be for the agents of parliament, *i.e.*, the parliamentary committees, to determine how far the programme of the administration deserves to be considered, and therefore what should be the estimates presented to parliament. There are differences in the courses followed in the two countries we are considering. For instance, in France there is a single budget covering all the regular financial transactions of the year; in America there is no single budget: financial bills are presented separately for each department of administration.[1] But in both countries it is parliament that determines not only what money will be actually spent and on what purposes, but also what are to be the *proposals* of revenue and expenditure.

Whether this system or anything like it will be adopted in England it is difficult to say. But if the government is to be left its present monopoly of authority it certainly will have to mend its hand in many ways. Perhaps it was some such proposal as this that Mr. Law had in his mind when making his recommendations of 1919. "I am not sure," he said,—"I am not pledging my successor or myself—that in expenditure we may not be driven to something approaching the French system in this matter. I think that is quite possible." What the particular portion of the French system was, which deserved to be imitated in England, was not explained. But it is possible that a change was foreshadowed which would give to parliament a greater share than it now enjoys in that most important of all financial transactions, the composition and presentation of the estimates.

MICHAEL CRONIN.

[1] Important modifications are at present being considered by Congress.

AN IRISH AMBASSADOR AT THE SPANISH COURT, 1569-1574.

BY DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A.

THE close of the year 1568 found Munster in a state of unusual excitement. The Earl of Desmond and his brother Sir John were languishing in England, awaiting Elizabeth's pleasure as to their fate. During their absence Munster had been saved from internal anarchy by the strong hand of James Fitzmaurice, who meanwhile refrained from attacking the English lest he should prejudice his cousins' chance of release. On October 8th Lord Deputy Sidney landed at Carrickfergus. It had been confidently expected that the imprisoned Geraldines would be sent back to Ireland in his company, and the people of Desmond awaited his arrival with impatience. They were quickly disillusioned. Sidney had no such conciliatory intentions, or if he had, the English Council refused to hear of them ; Earl Garrett and Sir John were still detained in London, and the prospects of their release seemed slighter than ever.

The smouldering wrath of their subjects burst into flame. A hosting was summoned of the whole Desmond clan to consider their course of action. It was addressed by the Earl's vice-regent, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald. In an impassioned speech he told his people of the wrongs which the English had inflicted upon them, of the unjust imprisonment of their chief, of the treacherous capture of Sir John, of the attempts to force the heretical creed

upon them, of the plot to deprive them of their lands. In a time of such unparalleled danger, he said, it behoved them to be prepared for everything. Let them, therefore, as had been their immemorial custom in times of stress, choose from their number one who would take the place of their imprisoned earl, and let them appoint him as their leader to resist the aggressions of the English. Little doubt could be entertained of their choice. Fitzmaurice had saved the Earldom from the pretensions of Thomas Roe; his leadership had been approved by commissions from the Earl and Sir John; he had shown himself well-fitted to rule. "Forthwith, and as it had been with one voice, they cried him to be their captain."[1]

Having thus obtained the seal of popular consent for his actions, James Fitzmaurice raised the standard of revolt against the English, and for more than four years, sometimes with only a few faithful followers, sometimes at the head of a formidable contingent, he gave the enemy no rest. With the details of the rebellion, which proved him to be the ablest leader of guerilla warfare in our history, we are not here concerned. Two of the Butlers made common cause with him at the outset; the restless MacCarthy Mor was soon by his side. But Fitzmaurice well knew that with the forces at his disposal he could not hope to expel the English. He had realised the great opportunity which presented itself of securing foreign aid upon religious grounds, and he now resolved to put this idea into practice. In the early days of the new year (1569) a convention of the chief rebel leaders was held in North-Cork. James Fitzmaurice, the heart and soul of the movement, was present; thither also came MacCarthy Mor, MacDonagh, the seneschal of Imokilly, "and others of Munster."[2] Sir Edmund and Edward Butler are included in the list, though both afterwards gave an emphatic denial to the charge that they were in attendance.

[1] Sidney's "Brief Relation."—*Carew Cal.* ii., 342.

[2] Holinshed (Hooker) under 1569.

At this meeting it was definitely decided that envoys should be sent to Spain, bearing an offer of the Irish crown to Philip II, who might appoint to it anyone he chose, subject to the approval of the Holy See.

This was not the first time that such a project was considered. Earlier Calendars of Spanish State-Papers contain letters of Shane O'Neill to Bishop Quadra, Philip's ambassador in London, offering to recognise his master as king of Ireland in return for aid against the English. The bishop would have gladly helped, but the cautious temperament of Philip forbade any such action. At the moment he saw no likelihood of success in the venture. However, he did not lose sight of Ireland, and his ambassadors in England constantly furnished him with accounts of the conditions prevailing there. Guzman de Silva, who succeeded de Quadra, had engaged in conversations with Thomas Stukely concerning the reduction of Ireland, but refrained from committing his government to any defined course of action. The next ambassador was Don Guerau de Spes, a voluble and rather imprudent intriguer, who was only too glad to enter into relations with the Irish. He corresponded regularly with Stukely, and his dispatches to Philip contain many references to Ireland, including the progress of the Southern rising.[1] His over-zealous championship of the Irish Catholics at length drew a warning from the Duke of Alva, whose cold, calculating spirit distrusted the ambassador's enthusiasm. "I again press upon you," he wrote on July 2, 1569, "that on no account in the world are you to listen to any proposals about Ireland, as I can assure you that such a course might ruin everything; and you also would run a personal risk, for which I should be very sorry."[2]

Yet, though the official attitude of Spain remained cold, the Irish were not without hope of assistance from

[1] Cf. Dispatches of May 23 and July 1, 1569—*Span. Cal.*, 1568-79, pp. 154, 170.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 172.

Philip. Spanish merchant vessels touched at nearly every port on the southern coast, and a flourishing trade was carried on between the two countries. This afforded an easy means of communication, and it was even alleged that one of these vessels had landed arms to aid the rising of MacCarthy Mor. A Spaniard, styling himself Don Juan de Mendoza, arrived in Ireland towards the end of 1568 and was allowed to travel through the country unhindered, having succeeded in allaying Sidney's suspicions. Later it was discovered that he was an agent of the Duke of Alva sent to incite disturbance in Ireland.[1] Sidney had him thrown into prison, but he had already accomplished his mission successfully. Nor was he alone in the endeavour to create feeling in favour of Spain. Innumerable messengers crossed to and from that country, chiefly friars and ecclesiastics, who had been despoiled and threatened with execution. All these laboured to spread the idea of Spanish intervention in Ireland on behalf of the Catholic religion. Nor did their words fall upon deaf ears; for, in the course of time, practically all Irishmen, the gentry of the Pale as well as the native chieftains, looked to Philip to put an end to the intolerable conditions under which they were living. Never did Ireland seem to be so united; the bishops and priests were only too glad to embrace any scheme for the furtherance of religion; the landowners welcomed a change of government which would secure them in the possession of their estates; everything seemed in favour of the proposed embassy. Fitzmaurice and his colleagues drew up a lengthy statement of their case in Latin, which will be dealt with in due course. Their emissaries sped through the length and breadth of Ireland, collecting the signatures of all the people of influence. Scarcely a single influential chief refused to sign, and the document in addition bore the names of the four archbishops and eight bishops of the Irish church.

[1] Sidney to Cecil, April 18, 1570—*Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 429.

The appeal to Spain had now assumed a tangible form in the shape of this important memorial. The next question to be decided was who was to convey it to Philip. The leaders were at pains to select an envoy who would worthily represent them at the Spanish court; and at length their choice fell upon the Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice MacGibbon.

The official records—if such a term may be used—of those who suffered for the Catholic faith in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign contain only the scantiest reference to this prelate. The majority of them[1] are content to summarise his career in a few lines, and no mention whatever is made of his political activities. Yet few ecclesiastics have played such a prominent part in Irish history. From this year onwards his career is closely associated with Irish foreign affairs, an association which at times led him into strange places and strange company. Of his birth and education we have little information to guide us. During the mysterious "conversations" in Paris, he himself grandiloquently announced to Walsingham that he was "descended from the house of Desmond" and was "of some affinity" with the majority of the Irish nobles.[2] Elizabeth, however, on making investigations heard that his statements were unfounded, and immediately acquainted her ambassador with the fact.[3] Yet the Archbishop had not departed from the strict letter of the truth. It is more than probable that he was correct in claiming relationship to the Desmond family, but, with rather natural diffidence, he refrained from adding that the relationship was *de la main gauche*. His illegitimacy is established beyond question by the records of his elevation to the See of Cashel preserved in the Corsini Library[4] and in the *Acta Camerarii*[5] (Vatican Archives), both of which precisely state that he was

[1] *e.g.*, Rothe, Holing, Bruodin, Coppinger, De Burgo.
[2] *Compleat Ambassador*, pp. 30, 75.
[3] *Id.*, p. 93.
[4] Quoted in *Episc. Succ.* ii., 5.
[5] Quoted in *Archiv. Hib.* v., 170.

consecrated *cum dispensatione super defectu natalium.* In Spain the English envoy, Sir Henry Cobham, learned the whole truth of the matter and bluntly announced it to Burghley in a letter dated the 27th of April, 1571: "The Archbishop of Cashel is a bastard of the Geraldines, and a Dominic friar, who going to Rome, procured this bishopric of the Pope."[1]

We are doubtless justified in inferring that the fury of the persecution under Edward VI drove MacGibbon to seek safety beyond the seas. Before or after his departure he entered the Cistercian Order and finally rose to be Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary de Magio or Monasteranenagh in Co. Limerick. When in 1567 Pius V decided to fill the See of Cashel, to which no papal appointment had been made for some years, he chose this well-known Irishman to be the new Archbishop. On Wednesday, the 4th of June, a secret consistory was held at which, runs the official minute in the *Acta Camerarii* (Vol. IX. fol. 167), a ruler was given to the Archdiocese of Cashel "in the person of Maurice MacGibbon, Abbot of the Cistercian Order, although he has not graduated in any faculty—*licet non habeat gradum in aliqua facultate.*"[2] He was immediately consecrated by Cardinal Morone, protector of Ireland, and given the pallium on September 19th.[3] The question of his return to minister to his flock, however, was one of extreme awkwardness. The See was in the possession of the heretics; a government nominee, McCaghwell, reigned in his stead and, backed by the strong arm of England, was endeavouring to force the new doctrines upon an unwilling people. Hence the prospects of the new Archbishop, if he should return and claim possession of the archdiocese and its temporalities, were by no means enviable. Imprisonment, torture, if not death itself, awaited him. Under the circumstances it was deemed

[1] *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 435.

[2] Arch. Hib. v., 170. Cf. also *Episc. Succ.* ii., p. 5. [3] *Ibid.*

advisable that he should first approach Philip of Spain, who might use his good offices with the English queen in order to secure permission for him to exercise his spiritual functions unmolested. If the King's request was in vain, as in existing circumstances seemed probable, some other method must be tried.

A letter, written on the first of May, 1568, from Monsignor Castagna, the Spanish nuncio, to Cardinal Alessandrino, announces the arrival of Archbishop MacGibbon in Madrid.

> He arrived here some days ago, and waited upon me, and told me of the unjust edict of the Queen of England, that he and the Archbishop of Armagh[1] were to be arrested for being Catholics, and having given their obedience to the Pope; and how that it was already carried into effect in the person of the said Archbishop of Armagh; and that he, for all that, was minded to go into Ireland, but desired first to make sure that he could count upon the interest of the King.[2]

Castagna, "taking the matter to heart," sought audience with Philip, acquainted him with the story, and prevailed upon him to write to Guzman de Silva, his ambassador in England, bidding him "do all in his power with the Queen for the liberation of the said Archbishop of Armagh, and for permission to the said Archbishop of Cashel to go and live in security in his church." His Majesty's letter was couched in very warm terms, albeit "with a certain caution," which "he is wont to use in dealing with that Queen." Meanwhile MacGibbon was relegated to "a port of Spain near Ireland," having received a donation of 500 crowns from the King with a promise of more at his departure.[3]

De Silva's task was a delicate one. He made discreet inquiries, and found that there was no hope of the English council acceding to his master's request. "The business

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[1] The illustrious martyr, Richard Creagh, then beginning a living death in the Tower of London.

[2] *Rome Cal.*, i., 271. [3] *Ibid.*

of the former prelate [*i.e.*, of Cashel]," he reported to Philip on May 27, " presents great difficulty. It will be necessary, therefore, if he designs to go and take up his functions, that the utmost caution and circumspection be used, as the only way in which it could successfully be done is for him to be secretly hidden amongst Catholics and safe from the molestations of the heretics."[1] This discouraging reply was handed by Philip to the Nuncio, who forwarded it on to Cardinal Alessandrino on June 6th together with a covering letter which summarises his opinion of the Irish Archbishop in no flattering terms :—

As to the Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, who is now tarrying in a port, I know not what he will do. I should think that it would not be amiss that I should learn the mind of his Holiness as to his going [to Ireland], for methinks he has no inordinate desire to expose himself to the risks of martyrdom.[2]

To the subject of these disparaging remarks he sent another letter very different in tenor :—

Your letters of the 1st and 2nd (May) have been delivered. That I deferred answering the first was due to the reason which you yourself assign. Nothing was lost thereby, for the letter from England had not then been delivered. It is now to hand, and from what the Catholic King's ambassador writes to his Majesty, one is better able to discern the cruel animosity of the Queen towards the Catholics than to hope for that which we desire and crave. Secretary Cayas, your constant patron, and moreover a ready promoter of all good works, will write to you and more fully expound the answer lately received from the King's ambassador. It will now be your part to submit the question of your going thither to prudent and conscientious considerations. I am grieved to hear of your servant's death and of the ill-health with which you are troubled at times. Meanwhile take care of yourself, and so love me as I love you, and be not unmindful of me in your prayers.[3]

Subsequent events prove that the nuncio's caustic witticism at MacGibbon's expense was entirely unjust. We possess no record of the communication in which Cayas explained the situation in greater detail, but

[1] *Span. Cal.*, 1568-79, p 16. [2] *Rome Cal.*, i., 275. [3] *Ibid*, p. 394.

evidently it was sufficient to convince the Archbishop that no hope was to be entertained of any good result from Philip's intervention. Rather it had served to increase his difficulties. Elizabeth was now forewarned, and would be on guard against his return; and little mercy could be expected from her if he fell into her hands. Yet MacGibbon did not falter. This man against whom the smooth-tongued Castagna, in the security of his sumptuous palace in Madrid, was pleased to level his cheap sarcasm, sailed from his haven of safety in Spain and landed in Ireland alone to brave the storm of persecution of which he had already received ample warning.

The next episode in his career proved that the new Archbishop was possessed of sufficiently militant spirit to prevent his acquiescing in the English settlement of his diocese. There are many versions of the affair, some of them completely contradictory of others. In the Calendar of Irish State Papers will be found a dispatch dated November 12, 1568, stating that "Morish Rioghe M'Gebbon, who came from the Pope, has taken the Archbishop of Cashel traitorously out of his own house, and carried him into Spain." The story told by Hooker,[1] and corroborated almost *verbatim* by the account in the Loftus MS.,[2] is even more extraordinary still.

> About this time one Morice, a runagate priest, having lately been in Rome, and there consecrated by the Pope's bull Archbishop of Cashel, arrived into Ireland, and made challenge to the same See, which being denied to him by the Archbishop which was there placed by her Majesty, the said supposed Bishop with an Irish skayne wounded the Bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

On the other hand, the notorious Meiler McGrath, when appointed the government's Archbishop of Cashel, gave a more moderate version. Writing in 1582 he

[1] Wrongly placed under year 1567, possibly owing to a similar mistake in the next reference.

[2] Quoted in *Episc. Succ.*, ii., 5.

relates how his "next predecessor" in the see, "being captive, was brought out of his own house within a mile of Cashel by one Morris Reogh, then from the Pope appointed Archbishop there, (when) the said Morris was admitted and conducted by the townsmen of Cashel to say a Mass in the Cathedral Church of Cashel." The same authority later informs us that the Protestant Archbishop was so "hardly intreated" during his imprisonment that he died soon after being released.[1]

Upon the whole, we may take McGrath's evidence as quite accurate. That some untoward event did actually take place can hardly be doubted. Three years later MacGibbon admitted to Walsingham in Paris that he had "outraged" his Protestant rival before his departure from Ireland.[2] As Walsingham probably knew nothing of the affair, we cannot suspect his account; and it is not likely that the Archbishop himself would further incriminate himself if the charge were false. Accordingly the story must be accepted as it stands. The luckless government nominee, McCaghwell, had doubtless rendered himself odious by his zeal for the reformed faith. The people of Cashel, hearing of the arrival of their true Archbishop, must have organised a demonstration in his honour, during which the heretical prelate was captured and handed over to MacGibbon's charge. His period of incarceration cannot have been lengthy. The English were not likely to allow such a state of affairs to continue; troops were sent down to free McCaghwell, the castle of the papal Archbishop was sacked, his pallium carried off, and he himself compelled to fly for his life.[3] He came for safety to the camp of the Southern confederates, and Fitzmaurice immediately realised that in him the rebels might hope for a worthy ambassador. Early in 1569 St. Leger announced to the Privy Council that the usurper Bishop of Cashel, Maurice Reagh, was conveyed with solemn pomp into Kerry by

[1] *Episc. Succ.* ii. 5. [2] *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 58. [3] *Spic. Oss.* i., 67.

James Fitzmaurice, "as if he were a god."[1] With him went another bishop—Maurice O'Herlihy of Ross, according to St. Leger; Maurice MacBrien of Emly, according to Hooker. Both of these men were uncompromising advocates of the Irish cause, and both are mentioned as living abroad about this period; so it is impossible to decide which of them accompanied their Archbishop. At all events, the entire management of affairs appears to have been left in the hands of MacGibbon himself.

Such was the man who was deputed to plead the Irish cause at Philip's court. The choice was not over fortunate. True, the Archbishop had many desirable qualities. He was a man of learning, who spoke continental languages fluently; he was presumably on cordial terms with many of the higher ecclesiastics in Rome; to have been chosen Abbot of St. Mary de Magio, which possessed very wide domains, he must have been an efficient man of affairs. Finally it was desirable that the envoy at the Catholic Court should be a high ecclesiastic, thus symbolising the fact that the struggle in Ireland was being waged on behalf of religious as well as political freedom. So far the ambassador was excellently equipped, but something more was needful. It would not be fair to cast doubts upon MacGibbon's sincerity; he honestly desired to see Ireland rid of the English yoke, and he strove hard to achieve that end. But his nationalism was born entirely of religious considerations, and his hostility to the English was due primarily to the fact that they were heretics and persecutors of the faith. His outlook on the national quarrel was that of a Churchman concerned for the welfare of his Church. He was the typical ecclesiastic of the Italian school, and his long absence from Ireland had perhaps rendered him unfamiliar with the progress of ideas there. But we are far from attaching any blame to MacGibbon in this respect. In those days it was impossible to divorce religion from

[1] *Ir. Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 401.

nationalism in Ireland; we might even say that Irish nationalism owed its reawakening entirely to religion; and there were very few indeed who would have been active separatists, had not the religious quarrel intervened to shake the soul of Ireland to its depths.

MacGibbon, however, though he had the best intentions, was a poor diplomatist. His career at the Spanish Court was marked by a series of blunders each more serious than the last. In his defence he might say that no man owed less to the smiles of fortune. Ill-luck never ceased to dog his steps. Driven from his see, coldly treated at the Spanish Court, abused with equal acerbity by his friends at home and by his spiritual superiors in the Vatican, discredited by a lying adventurer, forced to quit the Court of Philip, completely outmanœuvred by English diplomacy in Paris, seized in Scotland and flung into chains—was ever a life so unfortunate?

But to return to the main narrative. MacGibbon had little difficulty in securing a merchant vessel to convey him and his memorial to their destination. He set sail in the first or second week of February, 1569, probably from the port of Dingle. His departure caused no little annoyance to the already distracted government. "The end of that devilish prelate," wrote St. Leger, "was to resist the good devices which had been formed for the welfare of Ireland"[1]—referring doubtless to the scheme for organised spoliation then beginning to take definite shape in Ministerial circles. The Irish envoy, however, had received a fair start, and was able to land in Spain without being intercepted by any of the English pirates, Elizabeth's unofficial patrollers of the sea. We possess no record of his arrival at the Spanish Court, but may assume that it was about the month of April. John Baptista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, was still papal nuncio, and it is probable that he was instrumental in securing an interview with Philip for MacGibbon.

[1] *Ir. Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 401.

At all events we know on the king's own written statement that Castagna had already presented him with a duplicate copy of the memorial which the Irish prelate handed to him at the ensuing interview.

This memorable document was drawn up in Latin, then the universal language of diplomacy. The full text will be found in Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.[1] A headline in Spanish declares it to be an "Exposition of the state of affairs in Ireland given to his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty on the part of the Bishops and Nobles of that Island." Its chief clauses may be translated as follows :—

We would also have his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty know that the nobles and people of this realm, one and all, wish to follow in their fathers' footsteps after their accustomed manner, and to remain firm, constant, and unshakeable in the faith and unity of the Catholic Church ; as also to persevere even to their last breath in their immemorial obedience and attachment to the Roman Pontiffs and the Apostolic See. So great is their abhorrence of schisms and heresies that they actually prefer to change their residence and emigrate to another land rather than to live under the heretical yoke, or acquiesce in the errors and fickleness of the English, who, during the recent schism under Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI, robbed and plundered the churches and monasteries, proscribed and persecuted the bishops and religious, thus reducing the whole kingdom to a state of utter confusion. Now the present Queen, Elizabeth, has renewed these scenes of horror. She has imprisoned the principal bishops and other religious people of the realm for persevering in their devotion to the Catholic faith. Throughout the island she has carried out the policy initiated by her father and brother with the utmost vigour and dispatch ; sending for this purpose new heretical missionaries and bishops with a great number of heretical books to be distributed among our people. And by reason of this, the inhabitants of this kingdom make humble and unceasing prayer to God that He may take pity on their misfortune and bring their sorrows to an end ; moreover that He may be pleased to inspire the hearts of his Holiness and of the most benign and Catholic King of Spain that they may be willing to take immediate steps to save this kingdom and its people,

[1] I. 59-61.

so attached to God, to his Holiness, and to his Catholic Majesty, from the infection and ruin of the accursed and contagious heresy now raging in England.

Finally, we would have his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty know that for long it has been, and still remains the chief desire of the entire nobility and people of this kingdom to be taken under the patronage and protection of his Holiness and of the most benign and Catholic King of Spain, as those sovereigns to whom all persons of influence and property in this island look, hoping by this means to avoid the perilous affliction of the schism and heresy in the fickle English realm. Accordingly they have decided, with the help of God and the favour of the most clement Catholic King, to accept the person of any Catholic and valiant Prince from his Catholic Majesty's kin, whether of the house of Spain or Burgundy, whom his Catholic Majesty may nominate; and to receive, recognise, and crown him as their true, legitimate and natural king, thereby restoring the royal throne of this island; and to revere the presence of one king, one faith, and one kingdom, provided that the donation of this island is first obtained from, and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See. In this manner they hope to continue in their wonted and unceasing obedience and attachment to the Roman Pontiff, as well as in the unity of their holy Mother the Catholic Church of Christ, and in their ancient friendship and alliance with the Royal House of Spain, to which nation the entire nobility of this nation originally belonged.[1] . . .

Below are the names of the prelates, chiefs, barons, and nobles who are devoted to the Holy and Apostolic See and to that most powerful Prince, the Lord Philip, King of all the Spains.

Then follow the signatories to the document: the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam; the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Ossory, Clonfert, and Ross; the Earl of Desmond ("potentissimus Hyberniae"), the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, Clanricarde, Thomond, and Tyrone; lastly, the lesser chiefs, O'Donnell, O'Brien, O'Rourke, O'Reilly, O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, O'Connor Sligo, O'Connor "Assy" (Offaly ?), O'Carroll, O'Madden, O'Sullivan Mor, O'Sullivan "Vezze" (Beare), O'Meloughlin, MacCarthy Mor, MacCarthy Reagh, MacWilliam Burke, MacGiollapatrick, MacNamara, and MacMurrough. Of these,

[1] Alluding to the Milesian Invasion.

the Earl of Desmond was in prison, but his friends could vouch for his Spanish sympathies. Ormonde certainly did not sign, but it is not impossible that his two rebellious brothers, Sir Edmund and Edward Butler, gave their support to the petition. If we are to believe Sir Edmund's own version, given in a letter to Ormonde in August, 1569, when his ally James Fitzmaurice suggested the plan to him, he answered "that he would not meddle with the bringing in of the Spaniards or the setting up of the Mass." But in the circumstances, he is scarcely a reliable witness. And even if his account was true, it will be noticed that the answer amounts only to a declaration of neutrality and not of opposition to the proposal.

The document itself is one of the most memorable in our history. There can be little doubt that James Fitzmaurice had a considerable part in its framing, for it embodies all the ideas of which he was the most active exponent. It, therefore, represents the triumph of the "extremists" in the councils of the Irish nobility. The proposal which it contains is simple and unambiguous. In return for material assistance, Philip of Spain will be given the right to nominate the new king, subject to the approval of Rome. It is not, as some historians have falsely represented, an offer of the Irish throne to Philip, to whom it gives only a bare power of appointment. The clause providing for papal sanction shows that the mediaeval attitude towards the papacy was still strong in Ireland.

The Catholic king, having mastered the contents of the memorial, forwarded it to his Prime Minister with a request for his opinion. He also announced that the letter would be considered in council; and probably the Archbishop was sanguine enough to expect that immediate action would be decided upon. If so, he was profoundly mistaken. To those who knew Philip this step represented nothing more than the commencement of an appar-

ently endless process of weighty deliberation. His slowness in coming to a decision has become a byword; and in this case it was increased a thousandfold by international difficulties. Moreover at the time when MacGibbon had submitted his proposals, the King was in little humour for entertaining them. He was just emerging from the ordeal of most acute personal suffering; two domestic tragedies had recently occurred which had changed and darkened his whole outlook on life in general. His son, Don Carlos, one of the strangest figures in history, had been dragged by his vices into an early grave, and suspicion whispered (though falsely) that Philip himself had caused the death of this most miserable of princes. The grave had not long closed over Don Carlos when death again visited the royal household; the Queen, a daughter of Catherine de Medici, succumbed to the unskilful ministrations of the Spanish physicians. Even on a man of Philip's cold temperament, this double tragedy must have had a harrowing effect. The moment was certainly not propitious for a presentation of the Irish case.

Yet personal considerations alone would not have sufficed to deter Philip from lending aid. International complications were the real root of the difficulty. Accordingly it here becomes necessary to give a very brief survey of the European situation as it affected his reception of the Irish advances during the five or six years of Archbishop MacGibbon's embassy. At all times, the possession of Ireland or an alliance with her would have been invaluable to Philip. He realised that it was for England the heel of Achilles—the one spot in which she could be effectively wounded. But the difficulties to be surmounted were so enormous that it seemed dangerous to embark upon this enterprise. England was his real enemy, and he knew it; but, paradoxical as it may sound, he was at this moment endeavouring to seek peace with her, and was even prepared to support her against other countries. This strange policy is explained when we

remember the relations that existed between England, Scotland, and France. Mary Queen of Scots was languishing in her English gaol. She was the daughter-in-law of Catherine de Medici; her first husband had been king of France, and hence it was only natural that the French Court should be supporting her actively in Scotland and in London. In this Philip scented the most dangerous possibilities. If Mary Stuart were to succeed to the English throne, she would then marry Anjou, and their son might become sovereign of England, Scotland, and France. This formidable combination would spell ruin for Spain, and Philip hoped to defeat it or guard against it by seeking terms with Elizabeth. In such circumstances to afford aid to the Irish, much though he might desire it upon religious and political grounds, would be an exceedingly risky project. This was the state of affairs when the Archbishop of Cashel came upon the scene.

Later, however, a complete revolution took place in international politics. The next few years witnessed a *rapprochement* between France and England, the price of which was the abandonment by Catherine and Charles IX of the luckless Mary Stuart. The latter, however, was a woman not lightly to be cast aside. In her turn, she threw over France and flung herself upon the protection of Philip, offering (if he should free her) to marry any person he might choose, and promising when she succeeded to the throne of England that a firm alliance would be established between the two countries. The Spanish king espoused her cause, in word at all events; and this led to a further complication as regards Ireland. Mary was not likely to consent that Ireland should be wrested from her dominion; and provided she remained under Spanish influence, Philip saw no great necessity for angering her in this matter. Then came the revolt of the Low Countries against Spain, which increased his hatred of Elizabeth, but also his fear. She secretly helped the rebels with men and money; unofficial collections in the

churches realised thousands of pounds, which found their way to Orange's camp; individual soldiers of fortune, with her secret approval, raised private companies to swell the insurgent ranks. Philip's rage at these proceedings was only eclipsed by his fear that France and England would unite to drive his forces out of the Netherlands. Since the abortive Rising of the North (1569) the display of outward friendship between these two Courts was increasing; and next year Catherine de Medici actually put forward proposals for a matrimonial alliance between her son, the duke of Anjou, and Elizabeth. At any moment, therefore, both countries might unite their forces, and the death-knell of Spanish government in the Low Countries and of Spanish predominance in Europe would be sounded.

The situation for Philip seemed fraught with danger, and yet it was not so perilous as might be concluded at first sight. His hopes depended upon setting England and France by the ears, and the mutual jealousies of both countries enabled him to carry out this policy. He realised that the Anjou marriage, so anxiously desired by France, was (like all Elizabeth's coquettings with matrimony) a gigantic game of bluff. It is also possible that he knew the real cause of the English Queen's steadfast determination not to marry, for there is reason to suspect that the Duke of Alva was aware of it. Accordingly he counted upon the anger which would sweep France when Elizabeth definitely refused "Monsieur," as sufficient to eliminate all possibility of the two nations working in unison. In France itself even the astute Queen Mother played into his hands; the massacre of St. Bartholomew sealed the doom of the revolted Netherlands.

After these trying years, the project of aiding Ireland, which during the preceding period Philip had dismissed as highly dangerous, was again urged upon him. His own sluggishness and irresolution, combined with his

native caution, now prevented him from striking a deadly blow at his chief enemy. The papal ministers, as well as the Irish themselves, grew desperate at this ruinous delay. "I well know," wrote the Cardinal of Como bitterly, "that the sole cause of this dilatoriness is his Majesty's irresolution, of which God grant he repent him not some day, and sooner than he expects."[1] The Cardinal was right in his foreboding. To the incomprehensible lethargy of its ruler more than to any other cause, Spain owed the failure of all its designs until the final catastrophe which involved the destruction of its invincible Armada and its disappearance as a world-power.

From what we have said of King Philip, it should not cause us surprise that for over six months from the time he received the Irish petition from MacGibbon, there is no reference to it in his correspondence. He had no wish to commit himself to paper until he had studied, after his ponderous fashion, every aspect of the case. Meanwhile the poor Archbishop, who had imagined a speedy and satisfactory answer to his request, languished in Madrid, greatly dismayed at the King's inaction. But, though he and his offer remained almost unnoticed in the Spanish State-Papers, other eyes were watching him closely. There was in Madrid one George Huggins, an Englishman of the vilest type. This adventurer, formerly a spy in Cecil's pay, had sold his information to the Spaniards and was now a pensioner of the Court. But the arrival of MacGibbon offered an opportunity of ingratiating himself once more with the government which he had so basely betrayed. On the 22nd of June, 1569, Huggins dispatched a letter to the British ambassador in France, which is our only source of information as to the Irish negotiations. He begins with an apology for his slackness in correspondence—as well he might, considering that he had not written for nine years! His letter contains the following passages: "Some unfaithful

[1] Letter to Spanish Nuncio, July 2nd, 1577—*Nunz. di. Sp.* ix., fol., 454.

subjects of the Queen are intriguing there. . . . The Archbishop of Cashel solicits their cause, who has already given him 1,000 ducats yearly, and 1,000 more in ready money towards his charges. Their offer is well liked and will be accepted unless there be some agreement made shortly between the King [of Spain] and the Queen, whereupon there is some stay made for a time." Huggins understands that "these things be practised by the lords in the west of Ireland," and in particular that "James FitzMorice of Desmond, captain in the absence of the Earl of Desmond, by the procurement of Tirlogh O'Neill has demanded of the King of Spain to send an army into Ireland to resist the Queen's power." All this information has been supplied to the writer by "a gentleman of Ireland who came with the Archbishop."[1]

Assuredly, if verbal support signified anything, Huggins had not underestimated the danger to England. MacGibbon was treated with all the honours usually paid to the ambassadors of foreign sovereigns; and Philip's bounty enabled him to keep up a show of ostentation compatible with the dignity of his position. Cardinal Spinosa, Grand Inquisitor of Spain and President of Philip's Council of State, was his friend and patron. Meanwhile promises of immediate aid were freely given. Spinosa and "other men of high position" had guaranteed that His Majesty "would not fail to send assistance," as the Archbishop bitterly reminded Philip next year. The credulous envoy was content to accept these assurances as seriously intended, and wrote frequently to the Irish chiefs who were beginning to chafe under the continued postponement of assistance, painting a rosy picture of their chances and "encouraging them to resist the English."[2]

But the Catholic King was still anxious for an understanding with Elizabeth. Unofficial *pourparlers* had been initiated, the substance of which was that, if the English

[1] *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 98. [2] *Spic. Oss.* I., 62.

Queen made restitution for all the damage wrought by her buccaneering subjects upon peaceful Spanish trade-vessels, Philip on his side would consent to a modification of the rights of the Spanish Inquisition in regard to British subjects. At the moment it seemed as if Elizabeth shared his anxiety for peace. Her kingdom was in a ferment of revolution; the most powerful nobles in England had headed a rebellion in favour of her rival, Mary Stuart, a rebellion which had failed only by its prematureness. At any moment the storm might break again; and, supported by France, the Catholic party would undoubtedly carry the day. The duplicity which marked the dealings of Elizabeth had left her without a friend among the rulers of Europe. If a crisis were precipitated, Spain would be an invaluable ally, for the French Government would then hesitate to interfere on behalf of the Queen of Scots. The chances of peace were therefore considerable; and as they increased, the possibility of Spanish aid for Ireland was accordingly diminished. On the other hand, if the negotations failed —as both the papal party and the Irish at Madrid devoutly hoped—Philip would be more inclined than ever to listen to MacGibbon's proposals. This was the King's view precisely. He had hitherto maintained an unbroken silence upon the subject of the Archbishop's mission. He now decided to consult the Duke of Alva, his most trusted mentor in all affairs of state; and on November 18, 1569, he raised the question in a letter to the Duke, part of which runs as follows :—

> The other day [in point of fact it was over seven months ago] the Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland came here with a letter from the Earl of Desmond, written to me in his own name and that of other principal Catholics there. Two other messengers came afterwards to him, and the substance of their demand is this: that I shall help them to expel the heretic English who wish to force their new religion upon them, and they offer to accept as leader any person that I may name; in short that they will recognise me as sovereign. Although on religious grounds I should like openly to

embrace the business and help these good men effectually, the noise the thing would create and especially the jealousy it would arouse in France, as well as the obstacle it would present to the carrying through of the present negotiations with the Queen, have made me decide to entertain this Archbishop here with fair words and money for his expenses until I see the outcome of these negotiations. If she [Elizabeth] acts as she should do about the restitution, and will return to our old friendship and alliance, it is evident that it will not be desirable for me to help the Irish against her, but I might intercede for them to pervail upon her to promise to treat them well, and let them live in the safety they have hitherto enjoyed to practise the tenets of the Holy Catholic Faith. I will try by these means to send the Archbishop back as well satisfied. If, however, the Queen would be shameless enough to force us to break with her, I think it would be well for me to seize Ireland, as they are constantly begging me to do; and it could be done easily with troops sent from Spain. If once she saw me in possession of that island, it would give her something to think about."[1]

Thus did the cautious Philip give his verdict; and although we do not possess Alva's reply, there can be little doubt that he fully agreed with it. If Elizabeth was sincere in her protestations of amity, the King would content himself with verbal representations; if she proved herself false as of old, he would definitely embark upon the Irish project. Evidently he desired to incorporate Ireland in his own kingdom, for he is ominously silent on the question of appointing a king. The Irish memorial said nothing about recognising him as sovereign, but he was doubtless well aware that most of the chieftains would, in default of better terms, willingly acknowledge him as titular monarch, if only he assisted them to drive out the English. Meanwhile their envoy, heart-sick at this unexpected delay and fearful of its effects upon his friends at home, remained at the Spanish Court, regaled with further banquets of "fair words." And there we leave him for the present, with Huggins watching his movements and reporting them to the British Ambassador at Paris.

D. A. Binchy.

[1] *Span. Cal.*, 1568-79, p. 211.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

BY SHANE LESLIE, M.A.

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THE death of Cardinal Gibbons removed the most important Churchman from the New World, without bereaving, however, the most important See, statistically, in the United States. While Cardinal Gibbons enjoyed a Primacy of honour unequalled in more defined European primacies, Baltimore was far from comparable to such pullulating and immensely powerful Sees as New York, Boston and Chicago. But his death placed the whole American Church in acute mourning, and indeed his passing touched the whole Republic in a manner that had not affected it since the death of President McKinley.

The reasons were several. Cardinal Gibbons was a landmark in American history. He was the only living American who distinctly remembered seeing President Andrew Jackson pass through the streets of Baltimore, and Andrew Jackson was the last Irishman to defeat a British Army in the field. Cardinal Gibbons was also a landmark in the slow sequence of the history of the Church. It was a singular experience to look down the interior of an American street-car in order to catch a sight of the last living hand which had signed actual adhesion to the Dogma of the Infallibility during the Vatican Council. It was strange to see a hand which, to an ecclesiastical historian, was little less than a living relic raised cigar-laden to the lips of the Cardinal as he poured forth a gentle stream of anecdote and inquiry after the luncheon hour. Needless to add that in American Church

history he was the most remarkable landmark of two generations.

There was a considerable gulf between the American Church into which James Gibbons was born and the colossal, cross-continental confederation over which he presided as Cardinal fifty years later.

The popular unimportance of the Catholic Church in the newly begotten Protestant Republic led to singular outbreaks whenever the Catholics ventured to show any sign of zeal or presence. Owing to the striking part taken by the Irish in America and the French under Lafayette there was originally a theoretical burst of toleration for Catholics, which did not survive into established practice. Archbishop Carroll had won the esteem of Washington, when the whole Catholic community rallied to the Republic and made a struggle even to draw Catholic Quebec to the republican side. The history of the Church was that of an unnoticed and scantily recorded fight for existence and subsistence, lit only by the lanterns of the pioneers, Bishop England, Archbishop Peter Kenrick of St. Louis, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, and Archbishop Hughes of New York. These were the lion-hearted Archbishops who bore the burden of the day in the fifties.

The spirit of the fifties was unhappily illustrated by the mixed reception which befell the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, who was insulted and hounded through the United States until he boarded a ship by stealth. Cardinal Gibbons remembered the incident well, and often referred to it, for it laid the seed of his dislike of the Temporal Power as such. The mainspring of the hostility shown to Bedini was the report that executions had taken place under his civil governance in the Papal States. Gibbons felt that civil conditions which could expose the Church to such a report were wrong. Bedini's account of the Church in America is a valuable historical document. It was the first distinct account of the German

and Irish tides of immigration which had poured into the United States, and as Bedini was ruthless in reporting the bad influences which he discerned in both races, his words are seldom quoted in extenso. He found that infidelity was making inroads into one and intemperance into the other. Bedini saw the need of Catholic Schools and of Bishops of American birth, especially as it had been the American prelates only who had dared face the mobs of their fellow-citizens whom his trip had roused to religio-mania. Forty years later the Papal Delegate, Satolli, had a totally different experience. Bedini's advice had been taken and a striking prelacy had grown up. The most remarkable of these in history was Cardinal Gibbons, who was ordained a priest and consecrated a Bishop in the decade following Bedini's visit. Dr. Peter Guilday has well put it : "In one sense the history of the Church in the United States from 1870 down to our own day is largely a biography of his episcopate." In years to come the Catholic University of Washington, which owed as much to its first Chancellor, Cardinal Gibbons, as the Irish National University owed to its Proto-Chancellor, Archbishop Walsh. Eighteen years after Bedini's experiences Gibbons had been installed Bishop of Richmond. This was fifty years before the year of his death, and already he had placed a Vicariate Apostolic in North Carolina and a Church Council to his experience.

Dates and facts which are dull interstices in most biographies acquire a peculiar fascination when set in the life of Cardinal Gibbons. Born in Baltimore in 1834, he visited Ireland in the year that Queen Victoria came to the throne. He remembered the Ireland of the hedge schoolmaster and the Famine, that remote Ireland pictured by the acidised negatives of William Carleton of which so many bitter memories remain and so few customs, so little folklore. The Cardinal's memories of old Ireland were generally droll, and his eye used to glitter as he described the early patriotic speeches which

he heard as an impressionable boy. His simple boyish nature was deeply impressed on one occasion by a local orator who pictured the Government of the time trembling in the balance as the result of the local meeting which he was actually addressing. After receiving the privilege of Confirmation from Archbishop MacHale the future Cardinal's parents brought him back to the great Republic of which he was proud to have been born a citizen. Cardinal Gibbons had no need of American nationalisation.

In New Orleans he commenced, as all Americans must, at the bottom of the ladder, and it is interesting to speculate whether he would have become a typical millionaire, if with his winning manner and temperate habits he had remained in the drygoods business. A mission conducted by the Paulist Fathers stirred his sense of vocation and he made his slow way northward by stage and steamer to Baltimore. Educated at St. Charles' College and by the French Sulpicians at St. Mary's College, he was raised to the priesthood by Archbishop Kenrick, brother of the Archbishop of St. Louis. The Civil War almost immediately broke out and the Cardinal was to become one of the few surviving chaplains, for he served prisoners in Fort McHenry. These were sad and uncertain years to which he never referred without a tremor. Both then and later during the struggle between Hayes and Tilden for the Presidency he felt real apprehension lest his beloved Republic might be split asunder. He loved the South, but he felt bound to pray the prayer of Archbishop Carroll for the American Union, Priests on the Maryland border may well have been divided in an agony of love and fear, and Archbishop Kenrick died almost like a propitiatory sacrifice upon the very morning of Gettysburg as the advancing tide of Lee was rolled back. The war was won, and Lincoln was struck down by pistols as it were concealed in the laurels of victory. The body was paraded in deathly triumph through the greater cities and Father Gibbons walked behind the hearse in the Baltimore streets.

At the early age of thirty-four, having barely seen the years of Christ, he was sent as a Bishop into North Carolina, where Catholics, Irishmen and loyalists to American Union were equally few. Moving about on horseback the young Bishop came to know his flock by name. Resting in lowly shanties, alone in forests, riding through swamps, meeting a wholly unsympathetic population, whether they were the newly enfranchised and insulting negroes or the bigoted ex-slave-holders, he came to compose his simple masterpiece, *Faith of our Fathers.* His success was marked by Archbishop Spalding and he was made Bishop of Richmond, the old Capital of the Confederacy, that a spiritual conquest might console her possibly for her mundane defeat. From that moment he became one of the gentlest links and steadiest influences in a Reconstruction that counter civil violence and racial reprisals made appear at times almost impossible. But he lived to see the reconciliation of North and South symbolised during the Spanish-American War, which war, however, he and Archbishop Ireland from a sense of international humanity strove to avert.

Archbishop Spalding had desired on his deathbed to be succeeded by Gibbons in the Baltimore See. As it was, he was made Coadjutor to Archbishop Roosevelt Bayley, whom he succeeded in the same year, 1877. So it came about that he received his pallium under the Pontificate of Pius the Ninth. He was the last survivor of the Vatican Council, of the Third Plenary Council at Baltimore, and of all Pius the Ninth's Archbishops. For a moment it is interesting to discern him in an account written by an admiring student at St. Charles' College in 1877 as

> . . a thin figure with nothing especially remarkable about him but his eyes, and they were like a living light. Archbishop Gibbons is not so tall, not at all so stately, but certainly not one to be ignored even in such company. Monsignor Conroy (Bishop of Ardagh) was at ease, calm and courteous. Archbishop Gibbons was all alive and appeared rather anxious about things. . . His

face is thin, his features large and bony. His eyes are lanterns; they transform his whole face, very bright and keen if rather small. He bears himself with simple dignity, and one sees at once the genuine priest and gentleman.

The writer was to become Cardinal Gibbons' colleague in the Sacred College thirty-four years later, William Cardinal O'Connell, but his words remained as true a picture as when they were written.

The Civil War was followed by stagnation and sullen sedition in the South, but in the North by the tide of a new prosperity and the first rumours of world-power and universal interests. The war left the Irish and German contingents in a more notable position than had ever been their case before. The Germans slowly, but surely, as they became divested of their language, entered into the new nation. The Irish in America were always somewhat of a paradox. They became more rapidly nationalised and imbued with American characteristics than any other race, and yet to the third and fourth generation they remained the longest memoried of their transatlantic home. The importance to the Catholic Church of these Irish and German contingents was enormous. As they accumulated both material wealth and political power, the Church gradually took the lead of any other individual religious body, firstly in numbers and then in finance. Events soon pointed towards collision within the Church. The language and educational questions crept to the horizon. In 1883 Mr. Cahensly founded the St. Raphael Society for German immigrants. Later there arose round his name the fierce controversy as to whether Catholics would lose their faith in proportion as they lost their home language. The Irish-Americans, ninety-five per cent. loyal to the Church, should have presented a very satisfactory answer to the problem. But there was exaggerated writing as to the number of Catholics who had lapsed to the Church in America, and the claim was made to Rome for Bishops

of foreign culture and extraction. Meantime the Plenary Council of 1884 had taken place at Baltimore. The Roman authorities had wished to dictate both the matters discussed and legislated under thirteen heads, as well as to supply an Apostolic Delegate in the person of Mgr. Sepiacci. The Monsignor was introduced to the Bishops as a useful official, and it was only when it was accidentally divulged that he was going to preside over the Council that the American Bishops took an independent stand. Archbishop Gibbons was selected by the Holy See in his place and so admirable was his conduct that the Red Hat followed. But the Council opened rather than closed the educational controversy. The Cahensly strife of pamphlets and intrigues passed with its protagonists and parties into the bitterly contested school question. The so-called heresy of " Americanism " followed and the American Episcopate became and remained divided, even after these questions had passed away.

Cardinal Gibbons held the scales, though the fiercest protagonist on one side was his dearest friend, Archbishop Ireland. The same names were to be found on each side in all these three questions. While the questions lasted the higher politicians in the American Hierarchy lived far from stagnant, and very laborious days. In 1889 there came as a grateful relief the celebration of the Centenary of the American Episcopate and the foundation of the Catholic University at Washington. The University of which Cardinal Gibbons became the first Chancellor remained his pet scheme and most monumental achievement. Year by year fresh buildings were added, and though menaced at one time by the Waggaman failure and at another by the outbreak of the language and educational controversies on the staff, the institution thrived portentously. Washington received two Catholic institutions, which were to rouse the old suspicions and even attract the compliment of organised anti-Catholic hostility. A National Catholic University behind

the Capitol was alarming enough, but the establishment of an Apostolic Delegation proved even more so. Cardinal Satolli came to America in charge of the Papal educational exhibit and roused some of the senseless opposition as in previous years when the mob destroyed the marble block which the Pope added to the Washington Memorial. Satolli came as a commissioner, but he was to stay as a Delegate. Thanks to Gibbons and Ireland he was pleasantly settled in the National centre and the Episcopacy was given a neutral focus at which to adjust their differences in future.

Cardinal Gibbons survived to see Cardinals Martinelli and Falconio succeed Satolli at Washington and pass away both from the Delegation and from this earth. He survived to see the most rapid changes and growth attend the statistics and "plant" of the Church in America. Between the years of his accession to Baltimore in 1877 and his death the number of church buildings doubled, the number of adherents to the Faith trebled, and the number of priests was more than quadrupled. Within seven years he had brought together the Third Plenary Council, whose legislation proved a model to European canonists as the Latin of its report is still a model of Latin ecclesiastical prose. The high policy of the Church being set in order, the young Archbishop set himself to the spiritual influencing of the whole Continent. His status was unexpectedly rubricked by the arrival of the red biretta which was placed on his head by a brother of the Archbishop Kenrick who had ordained him of old. For over twenty years he represented America in the Sacred College. He was fortunately near enough, geographically, to arrive in time to assist at the Conclave which raised Pius the Tenth to the throne. In his own country, where there is so little tradition except the tradition supplied by the Church, his traditional honour acquired a grace and a pride in the eyes of his fellow-Americans. They regarded his

Cardinalitial dignity in the light of a victory of the New World over the Old rather than as an intrusion of the Old into the New. He used his untiring influence without missing an opportunity to spiritualise the materialism of America, into which by his gentle persistence and cautious daring he made considerable inroads. He could even carry popular assent on questions which the legislators turned against his instincts such as Prohibition. He witnessed the rise and triumph of the system of divorce, which has proved so profitable to the lawyers and so unprofitable to the increase of population. In vain Cardinal Gibbons set his voice and pen against the facility allowed to change and exchange of marriage partners. The results of his warning were shown in the dwindling of the classes whose wealth or old American breeding should have made them anxious to multiply themselves. An enormous number of families of the old-fashioned or Anglo-Saxon stock died out and the larger religious families of Irish and German Catholics took their place. It is this tendency which is most interesting to watch in the teeming American statistics. The Irish, German and Slavic elements are the increasing elements and the great majority of that increasing element is faithful to the Catholic Church. How soon will it not be possible to calculate a Catholic majority in America, if the race suicide of the Protestant or non-Catholic elements continues? When necessary he took the line of least resistance. He was tolerant of the mixed marriage, but he permitted no liberty to be taken in his presence. When a lady appeared before him wearing a beauty spot on her neck he gravely called her attention to what he grimly mistook for a crushed fly!

As the youngest Bishop at the Vatican Council Cardinal Gibbons knew how to keep silence, when his opinion was not asked. As the youngest Cardinal, however, he did not hesitate to raise a question of social strife and moral controversy in Rome and to call on the Holy See to

reverse her ruling against the Knights of Labour, when he believed that the Church in America called him to stand in the gap. Only a month before the Archbishops of Quebec and Baltimore were made Cardinals, the former had issued a statement from the Holy Office forbidding association with what was the most important Labour organisation on the Western Continent. This was fatal to Cardinal Gibbons' ambitions for associating the Church with Labour by permitting Catholics to join any Unions that could be construed as legitimate. He summoned the Archbishops of the United States to Baltimore, where ten decided that justice and prudence were opposed to the condemnation of the Knights of Labour. The minority consisted of the venerable Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, who had begun his episcopate half a century previously, and the Archbishop of Santa Fe, a derelict territory in New Mexico. Both prelates had been living on the confines, almost over the border of civilisation all their lives and Gibbons felt empowered for the sake of the future to carry his case to Rome. Together with Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec he sailed for Rome, where it is a matter of history that he obtained a judgment in favour of the Knights. Of his famous memorial, which he himself believed was destined to destroy his future influence with the Holy See, Mr. J. E. C. Bodley wrote at the time that the " re-decision appears the more remarkable, the more the Cardinal's arguments are weighed, revealing as they do an opportunism of a type more advanced and enlightened than the Church has had the credit of sympathising with."

In his dealings with the Holy See Cardinal Gibbons never hesitated to assert his democratic faith and showed himself no less an interpreter of Democracy to the Holy See than the skilful commentator of Catholicism to the Republic. He had warned the Church that the era was coming when the Church would have to treat, not with princes and parliaments, but with the masses of the people.

And the Republic no less than the Church justified him. When the interests of the Church in Cuba or the Philipines were endangered by the overswing of a pendulum slipping from benevolent despotism of the priest into confiscation of church property, it was the hand of Cardinal Gibbons, discreetly touching the machine of public affairs in Washington, that restored the balance. What the Church in those islands owes to him will never be known until the inner influences of history are revealed. The experiences of a life-time had convinced him that the Church of the future must be independent of state control and owe the state nothing for school or tithe or income. During the Second Empire he visited the Bishop of Annecy and found that, though he had a sentry placed to honour his door, he could not build a sacristy without Government assent. The American Government became increasingly his ideal as the setting or background of the modern Catholic community. Almost his last words were raised in her benediction. In February, 1921, he declared :

> As the years go by I am more than ever convinced that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest instrument of government that ever issued from the hand of man. . . No one knows better than myself what a line of demarcation and separation religion can cut in this country from ocean to ocean, and no one has been more earnest and eager in his efforts to keep down and repress religious distinction. I fear no enemy from without. The enemy, I fear, is he who, forgetting human nature and the history of Europe, would raise the question of another's religious belief and introduce strife and discord into the life of our country.

Cardinal Gibbons was almost feminine in his delicacy both of features and manners. Beside the powerful-looking Archbishops like Ryan and Ireland he looked frail indeed. Archbishop Ryan was fond of telling a story, even in defiance of a deprecatory gesture from the Cardinal, describing how they both went in to bathe at Atlantic City, the Cardinal so well swathed that a lady was heard to say of the two Archbishops as they came

out of the water, "What a very handsome man [Archbishop Ryan], but what a poor, sickly wife he's got"! Amid contending factions or parties he could exhibit that invincible patience, to which exhausted partisans are always glad to come for advice and reconciliation at the end. Nothing could perturb his equanimity, which was based on divine reliance as well as human philosophy. Financial failures affecting Church funds, inevitable scandals, the attacks of paid Protestants or Prohibitionists, rumours of wars and coming of plagues found the same quiet activity, gentle remonstrance or resistance, and unselfish sacrifice in Charles Street. A visitor to America during the last stages of the world war described how nothing impressed him more during the outbreak of the epidemic, when death was sweeping down thousands and the great cities were flung into panic, than the sight of Cardinal Gibbons moving calmly and energetically about his multifarious duties, dealing with the war with one hand and with the pestilence with the other, that is, with the spiritual needs which each caused to ring like a cry to heaven throughout the land.

Cardinal Gibbons was at his best in a crisis. The storm of "Americanism" struck him full blast, and how gently, how suavely he passed through that disturbing time! Furious complaints made against Bishop Keane's teaching led the Pope to send a letter to Gibbons demanding the Bishop's resignation from the University. The Cardinal would not send him the letter, but sent for him that he might break the force of the blow personally. Bursting into tears, he presented him with the letter which, as he truly said, he could hardly bear to give. Bishop Keane took a much less tearful view of the matter and, declining Archbishop Ireland's advice to put up a fight, preferred to give three cheers for the will of God and to go West, where he died a few years before Gibbons, but eventually raised to the dignity of an Archbishop. The Holy See loves a holy submission. It was typical of Cardinal

Gibbons that he would go out of his way not to offend the humblest priest or to hurt the feeling of a servant. He did his best to mitigate the Papal criticism of the so-called heresy "Americanism," which reached him in an otherwise friendly letter from Leo the Thirteenth, the famous *Testem Benevolentiae.* There is no doubt that undue suspicions had been aroused against the outspoken and easily misunderstood prelates covered under that term and nobody has put the difficult matter better than Dr. Peter Guilday of the Catholic University, writing in the *Catholic Historical Review* (Jan., 1921) :—

> It would be indeed difficult to offer any explanation, even a truly historical one, without arousing the suspicion that the problem was not fully understood by the writer. Probably the nearest approach to an adequate interpretation is to see in the "Americanism" controversy the beginning of the heresy of Modernism which broke out in France less than ten years later and to recognise that French ecclesiastics simply used the *Life of Father Hecker* as a shield.

It was of course the *Life of Father Hecker*, with Archbishop Ireland's spirited introduction, which, carelessly translated into French, produced most of the trouble, as well as the curious book by a French priest, *Is Father Hecker a Saint?* Through all these strifes Cardinal Gibbons stood firm, reconciling, explaining, and when necessary taking a distinct lead. The new century brought him a decade of golden calm and success. His acquaintanceship with Presidents like Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley ripened into real friendship with their successors, Taft and Roosevelt. Having helped the Church to see the duty of making the school the vehicle of a common American language, the Cardinal set out to co-operate in the national movement to assimilate the raw racial elements which were beginning to enter America from every corner of Europe. The Church was already magnificently based and poised on the well-assimilated Irish and German elements. The Cardinal could watch with ancestral pride the extraordinary part

which Irish names had begun to play in American life. Politics and the Army were far from being their only fields, though they were naturally the most resilient to Irish dash. The commerce of the North, the legal profession and every grade of civil life, from Chief Justiceship to the Prize Ring, from Mayoralty to Firemanship fell sooner or later to the Irish patronymic. Even diplomacy opened its narrowed gates to the Gael, an O'Brien represented America in Tokio, one Egan went to Chile and another to Copenhagen. In the actual Cabinet Irishmen were rare, though the entry of America into world war promptly introduced a Ryan and a Hurley. The Irish influence in Washingtom was local rather than international. It was only when a great issue stirred the latent feeling of the Irish in America that an approach to formal arbitration with England could be defeated or such a Treaty as that of Versailles cast underfoot. Let those deny it who will, the Irish-American instinct, organised or not, has been the deadly factor in keeping England and America apart. Cardinal Gibbons marked the slow progress of events and never ceased to urge an Irish settlement in mitigation of such a condition of affairs. After England and America had almost collided in war during the Venezuela dispute, the Cardinal joined with his colleagues, Logue and Vaughan, in recommending arbitration in future between the English-speaking countries. The inclusion of Cardinal Logue was more than a hint that such arbitration depended on the recognition of Irish Independence, but as far as the short-sighted politicians were concerned, the letter was allowed to lapse. How different history might have been if the three Cardinals had been allowed to press their advice successfully; but unfortunately statesmen at the end of the nineteenth century had made up their minds that both Irish and Papal influences were negligible as international factors. It took the bitter aftermath of the Great War for England at least to realise that she had been mistaken.

Cardinal Gibbons was never demonstrative in his Irish sympathies, but he never lost an opportunity to give the wheel an indirect push. His wise pleadings did not have all the force they deserved in quarters where only armed rebellion makes any impression, and he bided his time. As the spiritual leader of American forces during the war he found an even more signal position reserved for him at the end of his life than he could have dreamed. He was alert, sympathetic, prudent and undismayed at America's war entry as after the armistice. As soon as America's immediate needs and difficulties had been settled, Cardinal Gibbons set his influence in two directions, the proper participation of the Pope in international affairs and the Irish settlement. At an interview with Lord Reading, which might have been described as a meeting of the Old Testament and the New, he urged that the Pope should not be left outside the counsels of Versailles, if peace was to be the object of their deliberations. And seeing little response to the Irish demand, he took one of the most decisive steps of his life in appearing at the Irish Race Convention at Philadelphia held under Sinn Fein influences. It showed the mingled courage and wisdom which characterised so many of his actions in the past.

His last years found a climax in his golden Jubilee as a Bishop, which was celebrated at Washington amid every imaginable honour. Three score Bishops attended his Mass, and the affectionate reminiscences of a lifetime collected about his head. For a few years further he survived with all an octogenarian's enjoyment of the twin blessings of good conscience and good digestion. In those days he was visited by an increasing number of the curious and the pious, who were able thereby to lay up a unique personal recollection. Who cannot recall, who has ever been under the humble roof of Charles Street, the steps leading up to the open door, the old negro servant, the secretaries and chaplains like schoolboys

about their venerable master, striving only to spare him every fatigue and labour and from within the kind reminiscent voice bidding welcome? Wonderful days and evenings came to those who stayed under that roof. There was the varied and unceasing train of visitors to watch—Ex-President Taft, the evangelist Billy Sunday, and the Papal Delegate come to our memory. There was the simple fare and the old man, as punctual to sit down as to rise from his table, and there was the gentle flow of anecdote out of a storied past. As the cigar smoke, his only luxury, floated before his blue eyes, he relived other days. He was describing the Ireland before the Famine, a speech of Isaac Butt in the early fifties, when Home Rule was barely yet whispered. Then he was describing the agony of Maryland divided between North and South in the Civil War, and the plumed gigantic hearse of Lincoln flitted once more before his eyes. Then came the Vatican Council, and he would recall the fierce words of Cardinal Simor recalling the deliberating Council to the danger at their gates when he cried, "Hannibal is at the gates of Rome!" or he would describe Cardinal Manning's grim demeanour as he bared his wiry arm to the young American Bishop and said it was tanned by all the criticisms and attacks of his enemies. . . . Then came reminiscences of the dead Presidents, what Harrison had said to him at the seaside, what he had said to Cleveland about Labour troubles, and of McKinley and Roosevelt. . . . He spoke rarely of the dead churchmen, the three generations of Bishops who had been coeval with him. The fifty years subsequent to the Council was as much his personal history as the history of the Church in America. He, who had laid many of the foundations, was suffered not only to preside over much of the building but even to set a crowning pinnacle in the Catholic University of America. It was a great and a long life, and in it there was neither turn nor shadow of turning.

SHANE LESLIE.

A CATHOLIC LABOUR COLLEGE.

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

EDUCATION is the means to power which churches, nations, parties, classes, and all interests in this world neglect at their peril. I use the word education in no ideal sense but as standing for all conscious efforts directed towards mental formation. I use it not only in the sense of the development of the faculties but also in the sense of the manufacture of opinion, which is one of the most important of modern industries. The arts and crafts which statesmen call propaganda and which commercial men call indifferently publicity or advertisement are often euphemistically spoken of as "educating the public mind." True, this is the degradation of a noble word; but in these days the thing itself, or what stands for the thing, is itself degraded. To speak of "freedom of thought" to one who knows modern life, especially to one who knows the press, is to invite derision. The whole of the periodical press is doctored, the text books in all the schools are doctored, and the films shown at cinema entertainments are doctored by those who for political, religious or economic reasons are interested in emphasising some facts and suppressing others, in insinuating some beliefs and destroying others.

It is not on open statement and argumentation that propaganda experts now rely for the furtherance of their causes; they rely on the force which mere suggestion exerts on half-trained minds such as are ordinarily produced among the masses of the people by our modern system of schooling. In less educated ages the populace,

no doubt, followed leaders ; they put their trust in certain individuals who might be priests or aristocrats or demagogues, but the people knew whom they followed and whom they trusted. At the present time the people have their opinions made for them by others, but the people do not know who exerts this influence on them or even that there is the influence working. In a book by an American professor, William E. Kellicott, entitled *The Social Direction of Human Evolution*, there is this candid avowal :—

> The virtue of repetition, the summation of suggestion, which sells pills and pickles, which makes free trade or tariff reform a national issue, this force operating as a slight but persistent influence when linked to Eugenic proposals, will in a few years make these proposals a living force to the common man.

Of course it is not only the Eugenist but the Bolshevist and the Imperialist and every other sort of propagandist who understands and employs these methods of " forming public opinion." Mankind has always been subjected, for good or evil, to propaganda by this means, but never so intensively or extensively as at the present day. Learned books are written on crowd psychology, the most delightful and human being one by Mr. Graham Wallas who gravely discusses whether, now that the methods of exploiting the irrational elements in human nature are so thoroughly known and so easily taught, there will not result " the abandonment by the younger politicians of all ethical traditions and the adoption of those methods which have hitherto been the trade secret of the elderly and disillusioned." [1]

I have not called attention to the occult influences which, chiefly by the press and the cinema, pursue their campaigns of suggestion, in order to argue that they are all-powerful or that they can only be combatted with their own weapons. No single agency is omnipotent or irresistible. There is an antidote to every poison. But

[1] *Human Nature in Politics*, by Graham Wallas, Part II., Ch. I.

consideration of these present day methods of propaganda will make us realise better the imperative need of unceasing counteracting efforts. We have to concern ourselves not only with the primary education of children, the secondary education of adolescents, and the university education of a small number of young men and women, but with the intellectual direction of adults of all classes.

In England to-day Adult Education is the concern of the most acute and far-seeing minds. Money is expended upon it in abundance, and even in these days of retrenchment the expenditure is likely to increase. The influence of the various institutions known as labour colleges on the Labour Movement is now very well known. Two of the most important of these are Ruskin College at Oxford and the Labour College at London. There are smaller institutions calling themselves "Labour Colleges" in provincial towns though some of them are nothing more than night classes. Dr. Shadwell, in his notable series of articles in the London *Times*[1] on the revolutionary movement in England, was at particular pains to emphasise the importance of these colleges. It is a fact that the men trained in the labour colleges, and to a lesser extent in local educational classes, are winning the leadership of the Labour Movement. For example, Ruskin College is a comparatively young institution and the men who have passed through it are mostly men who are as yet only beginning their careers, but no less than five of the Labour members of Parliament come from Ruskin College. Mr. Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain at the age of twenty-nine, could not possibly have attained that high and important position without his Ruskin College training. Even as early as 1913 an article in the *English Review* entitled "The Brains Behind the Labour Unrest" pointed out the potent influence exercised by young propagandists fresh from Ruskin College and the Labour College.

[1] *Times*, January 14, 1921.

After the great railway strike of 1919 the *Times* published an editorial article under the heading of " Wider Aspects of the Strike " which, speaking of the factors which counted most in producing labour unrest, said :—

> The influential men are not even Bolshevists. They are middle class intellectuals and workmen who have been through one or other of the labour colleges where they have imbibed theories about the social and industrial order which seem to them perfectly true and wise because they do not know enough to detect the fallacies. These men, who are young, are most numerous among the railwaymen and miners, and this is the chief reason why these industries are the special though not the only hotbeds of disorder. The young college-trained men, by virtue of their superior intelligence and intellectual training secure an influence in the trade unions out of all proportion to their numbers, and to a large extent run the local branches because they work at the affairs of the union.[1]

It is probably because the disruptive possibilities of certain movements for Adult Education are well understood that conservative interests are generous in their assistance to other educational agencies. It would be a mistake to assume that Adult Education as it has been in England up to the present has been mainly an unsettling influence. Ruskin College men and the members of the Tutorial Classes of the Workers' Educational Association have been steadying elements which have outweighed the rather wild agitation of the leaders produced by the Labour College in London and the Plebs' Classes and similar nurseries of extremism throughout the country. If there had been no adult education the leadership of the Labour Movement would be far less conservative than it is at present. The State, the Local Education Authorities, the Universities and well-to-do benefactors, to say nothing of the trade unions, have financed the W.E.A. movement in this country. Ruskin College depends by no means entirely for its finance on labour organisations. The Adult Education movement is far from being entirely a class movement.

[1] *Times*, October 7, 1919.

What Ruskin College and the W.E.A. and the Labour College and the Plebs' Classes have shown in their different ways is that social leadership and power go to the man with superior education and training. If there had been only an extremist institution like the Labour College, the Labour Movement in this country would be certainly extremist in its character; but the broader education given by Ruskin College has more than neutralised the influence of those whose one prophet is Karl Marx and whose simple gospel is class war.

The social study clubs of the Catholic Social Guild have also demonstrated very strikingly that those who acquire knowledge are those who attain to leadership and power. The activities of the Socialist movement in England, be it said to its credit, have always been of a more or less educational character. The movement, therefore, attracted the more intellectual of young working men. Before the foundation of the Catholic Social Guild it attracted not a few promising young Catholics who are now lost to us. One effect of the Socialist educational classes was that Socialists, even when they were regarded as cranks and Utopians, were respected as men who were known to be earnest students and who had more than a common knowledge of social questions. The eventual reward of the diligence of the Socialists was that they not only captured most of the official positions in the Labour movement but that they established a sort of Socialist intellectual ascendancy in the working class world. The Catholic Social Guild study clubs have stopped Catholic defections to the Socialist ranks; they have resulted in a high proportion of Catholics obtaining leading trade union positions and they have destroyed the Socialist intellectual ascendancy. In many districts where Catholics are quite a small minority numerically there is actually a Catholic intellectual ascendancy. Catholics are known by their fellow-workers to be the keenest students and to have the best knowledge of social questions. Catholics

are, of course, just as intelligent on the average as non-Catholics; they have a stronger stimulus to persevering and disinterested work, and they have far more satisfying, definite and coherent principles than any other students. Incalculable good has been and can be done by parish study circles. A study circle draws together and fosters the élite of a parish, but far more could be done if we went further and provided a national institution to give the highest available training to the working class élite of the whole country. What is wanted is a Catholic Workers' College, much on the same lines as Ruskin College at Oxford or the Labour College at London.

The main purpose of Ruskin College is to give selected young men a training which will fit them for positions of authority and leadership in labour organisations, both political and industrial. The governing body of Ruskin College is a committee of representatives of Labour organisations. The actual teaching work in the college is done by a professional staff with University qualifications. Most of the students have obtained scholarships granted by their respective trade unions. In one or two cases local education authorities give scholarships awarded by competitive examination available at Ruskin College.

A college for adult workmen having been proved a practicable and successful enterprise we may consider the question of a Catholic Workers' College. What would be the purpose of such a college? How would it get its students? What sort of education would it give? What would the students do with themselves after they had been trained at the college and had returned to working life? I will answer these questions specially in relation to England which is the country I know best; but it seems that the idea has interest and applicability for every country where modern conditions prevail. The purpose of the college would be the training of Catholic lay leaders: they might not be national leaders, but they would be leaders in their own localities. They would take the lead in

parish organisations and social works of a religious character such as are carried on by the Catholic Young Men's Society, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Catholic Federations, the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic Evidence Guild. They would also take part in trade union activities, in the co-operative movement, in Local Government, and in other departments of public life. They would be capable of contributing articles and letters to their local press, explaining and defending the Catholic position as occasion required. Everyone who has any experience of work in an industrial parish knows what a godsend is an educated layman who will throw his energies into parish activities. Unfortunately, it is not often that educated laymen are available in a working-class parish. Such men usually belong to the professional class, and they may live in a different neighbourhood, and even if they have zeal and good-will they have but rarely the faculty of being absolutely at home with men of a different social environment. What happens as a rule is that one or two of the working men themselves, as a result of particular energy, ability and force of character, become the mainsprings of parish activities. If we could take these men of zeal and character and ability, and give them an intellectual training of a University standard their efficiency would be enormously increased. All our Catholic organisations depend for their success upon good leadership. The clergy are the first to say that under present conditions this work of leadership must devolve upon the laity. We shall not get a sufficient supply of lay leaders unless we take means to train them.

At Ruskin College the normal course of training lasts two years and leads to the Oxford University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. The subjects studied are Economic Theory and Applied Economics, Industrial History, Constitutional History, Political Science and Political Theory. There are special courses in Trade

Unionism and Co-operation, and there is instruction in elementary English for those who need it. At a Catholic Workers' College all these subjects could be taught, and there would also be courses in Catholic History, Ethics and Apologetics. There would be courses explaining the structure and functions of the principal Catholic organisations in the country and discussions of the problems that face these organisations just as at Ruskin College there are lectures on the structure, functions and problems of industrial and political organisations. This scientific study of Catholic organisations like the Catholic Young Men's Society and the St. Vincent de Paul Society would of itself tend to impress the whole Catholic body with the need of taking thought about familiar Catholic activities, of observing defects and of striving to devise and effect improvements. Catholic action generally would stand to gain in efficiency from the mere fact of such scientific study, apart from the assistance that would be given by the training of workers.

The men who come to a Catholic Workers' College should not come to obtain an education that will help them in their worldly careers. The college would not be for the social advancement of individuals. It would be a place for training men who were anxious to devote themselves to Catholic work such as laymen can do, and often, laymen only can do. The college would be a seminary for lay apostles. There are thousands of lay apostles in the country to-day. Every parish priest in any big town will tell you that he has young men in his flock who really have the apostolic spirit, who willingly devote practically all their free hours to Catholic activities. Usually these men of zeal are also men of intelligence and they would profit from a course of higher education. It is not utopian to believe that these men, if they were given such an education, would afterwards use their increased powers self-sacrificingly for works that promote the greater glory of God. As the men at the Catholic Workers'

College are intended to serve in Catholic organisations it is from Catholic organisations that they should be obtained.

Just as the trade unions offer scholarships, hold examinations, and send their picked men to Ruskin College, so Catholic organisations like the Catholic Young Men's Society and the Catholic Social Guild should provide scholarships to their members at a Catholic Workers' College. A short time ago this plan was approved by the C.Y.M.S. Council of one of the Lancashire towns. I would have the greatest confidence in naming six towns where Catholic societies, such as the C.Y.M.S. and the the C.S.G. would undertake almost immediately to provide annual scholarships open to their members. The societies providing the scholarships would themselves select the scholarship-holders, and they would certainly select the best type of man. In awarding the scholarships consideration would be given, not principally to merely intellectual capacities, but rather to capacities for actual work and leadership. The tests adopted for selecting the scholarship men will probably be similar to those used when awarding scholarships for the Catholic Summer School held in Oxford last year. They were tests in mental alertness, in Catholic and public zeal, in community spirit and initiative, not in mere book knowledge. For instance, the questions for the written examination were as follows :—

(1). Write an appreciation of any present-day writer whose works you esteem.

(2). What, in your opinion, are the chief defects of Catholic organisation in this country at the present day ?

(3). What are the principal dangers threatening the welfare of the Labour Movement in this country ?

(4). What Catholic principles have a bearing on social questions ?

The following requirements were also made :—

Candidates must give particulars of their occupation, their education record including schools attended from childhood, con-

tinuation classes, correspondence courses, study circles, etc.; also their record of public activity including any position they hold or have held as committee men or officials of parochial or other Catholic societies, labour unions, public bodies, etc.

The very simplicity and modesty of the questions showed the desire of the Summer School promotors, as it should be that of the Workers' College promoters, to avoid appealing to the mere "highbrow" who, just because he is unlike the average man, is unfitted to organise and lead his fellows. Men who have ordinary brains and more than ordinary zeal, industry and initiative are the men who will be leaders, and these are the men who should be sought for and trained. The Summer School at Oxford certainly did attract working-men of the right type and all who met them were struck by their vigour and freshness, their strong sense and wide knowledge. Most of the men, though comparatively young, were already leaders in their labour organisations and in the Catholic life of their localities. Such men are the natural leaders of a democracy and have far more influence in the long run than all the Lloyd Georges and Northcliffes and Bottomleys put together. If such men are thoroughly imbued with Catholic ideas, and filled with the true Catholic spirit, they will be the surest and best defenders of Catholic interests. They will be as picked and specially-trained men stationed at strategic points of a battle line. They will do far more than anything else, far more than press propaganda can do, to form the characteristics and tendencies of the general mass of men and women in their localities. In the circumstances of the present day, when so many disguised influences are working against the Church, this training of the élite of working-class laymen is among the most essential of modern needs.

HENRY SOMERVILLE.

PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE.

BY EDMOND POWER, S.J., D.LITT.ORIENT.

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Part VI.[1]

IN our last article we considered the various difficulties encountered by the eastern traveller and the provisions he makes against the dangers of the road. We have now to inspect the bright side of the picture, the help and encouragement which the ancient traditions of his land and people entitle him to expect on his journey. The customs connected with hospitality and salutations in the east are full of interest in themselves. As they are frequently referred to in the Bible an acquaintance with them will be found extremely useful for a better appreciation and a fuller understanding of many passages in the sacred narrative.

It is, no doubt, owing to the many hardships and perils attending travel in the east that hospitality is there universally recognised as a sacred duty, nowhere so well observed as in the desert tracts inhabited by the Bedouin tribes. Here is what Doughty, the most famous Arabian explorer of recent times, says of the people whom he learned to know so well :—

Perilous rovers in the field, the herdsmen in the desert are kings at home, fathers of hospitality to all that seek to them for

[1] For Parts i, ii, iii, iv, v see the issues of Sept. (1919), March, Sept., Dec. (1920) and March (1921).

the night's harbour. "Be we not all," say the poor nomads, "guests of Allah?" Has God given unto them, God's guest shall partake with them thereof: if they will not for God render his own, it should not go well with them. The guest entered, and sitting down amongst them, they observe an honourable silence, asking no untimely questions (such is school and nurture in the desert) until he have eaten or drunk somewhat at the least, and by "the bread and salt" there is peace established between them.[1]

The special cult of hospitality by the Bedouins corresponds with the special need of it which they all experience. In Palestine, too, one will meet with more hospitality from the poor villagers in the country districts than from the inhabitants of the larger towns.

How much hospitality was esteemed in ancient Israel may be seen from the fact that Abraham's gracious reception of the three mysterious strangers, who visited him at Mambre, prepared the way for all the blessings showered on him and on his seed.[2] Lot too, to save his guests from outrage, made extravagant offers to the Sodomites that they might "do no evil to these men because they are come under the shadow of my roof."[3] And the great tribe of Benjamin was all but annihilated for a flagrant crime committed against one who bore the sacred character of a guest.[4] Hospitality is consecrated in the New Testament by Our Lord's well-known words: "I was a stranger and you took me in."[5] The Apostles wished to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritan villagers who refused to receive them.[6] St. Paul too frequently commends hospitality whether he addresses bishops [7] or widows [8] or the faithful in general.[9]

The following instance will serve to show the sacredness still attached to the law of hospitality in modern Palestine. We mentioned in our last article that the ancient Kiryathyearim was notorious as a nest of robbers nearly a century ago and that it is now known by the

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[1] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I. 228.

[2] Gen. xviii. 1 sq. [3] Gen. xix. 8. [4] Jud. xix.-xx. [5] Mt. xxv. 35. [6] Lc. ix. 51 sq. [7] 1 Tim. iii. 2. [8] ib. v. 10. [9] Rom. xii. 13.

name of its celebrated robber chief Abu Gosh. In 1853 three Scotch travellers, as they journeyed to Jerusalem in a deluge of rain, were overtaken by darkness and forced to seek shelter for the night at this village, ignorant as they were of its unenviable notoriety. Fortune directed their steps to the house of Abu Gosh himself, who received them, though not too cheerfully, had a fire lit, their clothes dried, and their evening meal prepared, and permitted them, refreshed by a night's rest, to continue their journey unmolested in the morning. Had they stopped at any other house in the village the robber chief would undoubtedly have plundered and perhaps murdered them. He dared not, however, for all his predatory instincts, molest his own uninvited guests.[1]

When a stranger in the east reaches at night-fall a large town he seeks shelter, not in a hotel—which does not exist except in a few Europeanized cities—but in a khan. These buildings are also to be met with on the trade routes in the open country. An example in Palestine is the Khan et-Tujjar or Merchants' Khan, the beautiful ruins of which may still be seen by the traveller on the great "Via Maris" or "Way of the Sea" between Tiberias and Thabor. The prophet Jeremias mentions the Khan of Kimham near Bethlehem, where the Jews halted when flying to Egypt after the murder of Godolias.[2] This may have been the very khan, referred to by St. Luke, where there was no room for Mary and Joseph. It is still more probable that the Khan el-Hatrour, situated midway between Jerusalem and Jericho, occupies the site of the ancient one where the good Samaritan lodged the robbed and wounded man in the Gospel parable.[2]

The khan may be described as a rectangular building

[1] The anecdote is related by R. W. Stewart, *The Tent and the Khan*, p. 407.
[2] Jer. xli. 17 The Hebrew "in the lodging-place of Kimham" is rendered in the Vulgate "as sojourners in Chamaam." [3] Lc. x. 34.

of four stone walls containing a raised and covered gallery, running along inside the walls, and a large uncovered space in the centre at a lower level, on which the gallery opens. The animals are housed for the night in the central space, while the men sleep on mats spread out on raised wooden benches in the gallery. Sometimes however the installation is more elaborate. Rooms are portioned off for the guests and stables for the animals, while a porter or guardian occupies permanently a room by the strong gate in the vaulted entry. There is often too a well in the interior and a terrace above the gallery which serves as a post of observation. The khan supplies shelter and water, but not food, and hence is not an exact equivalent of our inn. In the case of the good Samaritan the guardian took charge of the wounded man for a consideration. There is poor comfort in the khans. Sometimes in cold weather the animals invade the galleries, sometimes on the contrary the men leave their rooms for the warmer stables.

Smaller towns and villages instead of a khan have a guest-chamber. This is more usually a separate house in the centre of the village, sometimes however a room in the house of the Sheikh or headman, for the accommodation of strangers who have no friends or relatives to lodge with. An upper chamber frequently serves this purpose, so that it was probably in a guest-room that Our Lord celebrated his last Pasch. The building or room is large, often provided with a hearth in the centre and usually devoid of furniture, though cushions and straw mats for the night's repose are generally supplied by the Sheikh. On one occasion in Northern Palestine the present writer and his companions passed the night in a new and still unoccupied house belonging to the principal Christian family in the village, whose guests we were. But on the following night in a different village we were accommodated with the best room on the ground-floor, which was thronged with visitors until

the time came to lie down to rest on the mat-covered earth.

When the traveller reaches a village where he wishes to pass the night he usually halts in the *saha* or open space near the entrance, corresponding to our village common, whence one of the villagers will soon either invite him to his own house or conduct him to the guest-house. Holy Job records his faithful performance of this sacred duty. "The stranger used not lodge without, my doors I used to open to the traveller."[1] Rarely indeed is hospitality refused though we have a flagrant instance in the Book of Judges.[2] A Levite, returning from Bethlehem with his wife and servant to his home on Mount Ephraim, entered the town of Gabaa Benjamin some two miles north of Jerusalem at eventide. "And he sat in the 'rehob' [not 'street,' as in the Vulgate, but 'open place,' the modern *saha* or village common mentioned above] and there was no one would receive them to their house to lodge." The crime was the greater because the travellers, as was customary, had their own provisions and only needed shelter. An Ephraimite stranger who inhabited the town finally discovered them and said to the Levite: "Peace be with thee; on me the supplying of all thy needs; only stay not the night in the open." Then he led them into his house and feasted them after they had washed their feet; nor did he forget the needs of the asses on which they rode. Similarly the modern Palestinian villager will not allow the traveller to eat of his own provisions in his house, but will say with the ancient Ephraimite: "On me the supplying of all thy needs."

It is considered unbecoming in the east to accept hospitality too readily. One must be constrained to do so by the host. A Syrian gives us the following lively description of an invitation in his native country. "Approaching his hoped-for guest, a Syrian engages

[1] Job, xxxi. 32. [2] Jud. xix. 15 sq.

him in something like the following dialogue, characterized by a glow of feeling which the translation can only faintly reveal: "—

Ennoble us by your presence.

I would be ennobled but I cannot accept.

That cannot be.

Yea, yea, it must be.

No, I swear against you by our friendship and by the life of God. I love just to acquaint you with my bread and salt.

I swear also that I find it impossible to accept. Your bread and salt are known to all.

Yea, do it just for our own good. By coming to us you come to your own home. Let us repay your bounty to us.

Astaghfero Allah [by the mercy of God],[1] I have not bestowed any bounty on you worth mentioning.

"Here the host seizes his guest by the arm and with an emphatic 'I will not let you go,' pulls at him and would drag him bodily into his house. Then the guest, happy in being vanquished 'with honour,' consents to the invitation."[2]

The most picturesque of the evangelists, St. Luke, reproduces this characteristic eastern trait in three different passages. In describing the great supper, which those who had been first invited disdained to attend, he says: "And the Lord said unto the servant: Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."[3] St. Matthew omits the "compelling." "Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as you shall find call to the marriage."[4] Again after the resurrection, when the two disciples and the mysterious stranger had reached Emmaus, we read: "And he made as though he would go further. But they constrained him, saying: Stay with us because it is towards evening and the day is now far spent. And he went in with them."[5] Thus, too,

[1] Literally "I beg pardon of God," equivalent to our "You confound me."

[2] Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, p. 148-9.

[3] Lc. xiv. 23. [4] Mt. xxii. 9. [5] Lc. xxiv. 29.

in the Acts of the Apostles, does St. Luke describe the offer of hospitality made by Lydia, the purple-seller of Thyatira, to St. Paul and his companions. "She besought us, saying: If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house and abide there. And she constrained us."[1]

The case of a woman offering hospitality in the east is a very exceptional one. Lydia of course was induced to do so by motives of religion and gratitude for the faith she had received. Etiquette requires that the invitation be given by the man as for instance in the cases of Abraham and Lot mentioned above. The part of the woman is to prepare the feast, of which she herself does not partake with the guests. Hence it is surprising to find Jael's execution of Sisera condemned by many writers precisely on the ground that it was a flagrant violation of the Bedouin law of hospitality. As a direct answer to this charge, it may be worth while to cite a seemingly unnoticed instance of a very similar line of action taken by another Bedouin woman in like circumstances. It is from such instances, and not from a written code, that our knowledge of Bedouin law is derived.

It is related in the Kitab al-Aghani [2] that Shanfara, a famous poet, archer and runner of sixth-century Arabia, met his death in the following manner. After raiding alone a hostile tribe he was in absolute need of water before he could venture on a solitary flight across the desert. He therefore went to an isolated tent and demanded water from the woman who was its only occupant. She managed to conceal her water-skin and give him instead a double draught of coagulated milk, with the express object, according to the narrator, of increasing his thirst—another interesting parallel to the case of Jael. Then being assured that he would have to

[1] Acts xvi. 15. [2] Vol. xxi. p. 143.

visit the solitary watering-place of the locality before making for the desert, she sent word to her tribesmen who planted an ambuscade and killed Shanfara that night at the well. It would seem therefore that a woman's forced offer of coagulated milk could not be considered as conferring on a fugitive warrior the sacred right of a guest. We prescind here from some other factors in the story of Jael which have been dwelt on in a previous article.

The regular term of gratuitous entertainment in the east is three days. That this holds, even for unwelcome guests, will appear from the conclusion of a homily said to have been addressed to some Arab visitors by the King of Nubia in the eighth century. "You have hospitality for only three days, so take the provisions you need and leave my country."[1] The host, however, will often fix a longer period, or at least endeavour by various pretexts to prolong the visit beyond the appointed time. A rather amusing instance of the former practice is recorded by an English traveller in Southern Syria. Finding himself benighted he sought hospitality at the house of a noble Druse lady, expecting of course to be able to continue his journey the following morning. But when morning came the hospitable dame declared to his consternation that the period of his visit was forty days. It was not until three days had passed that he managed to depart without altogether outraging the feelings of his hostess.

The following are the usual reasons alleged by the host to induce the guest to delay his departure. First he must wait for the mid-day meal to get strength for the road; then he must not go out in the hot sun but remain until the cool of evening; then the day is now far spent, travelling by night is dangerous, he must wait for the morrow. How similar is all this to the scene described in the Book of Judges, when the Levite, already

[1] Ibn Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes Historiques*, ed. Quatremère i. p. 374.

referred to, after the regulation three days' visit, sought to leave his hospitable Bethlehemite father-in-law and return to his home on Mount Ephraim.

> And his father-in-law, the father of the maiden, detained him and he remained with him three days, and they ate and drank and spent the night there. And when they got up on the morning of the fourth day and he arose to depart, the father of the maiden said to his son-in-law, "Strengthen thy heart, I pray thee, with a morsel of bread, and then you may depart." And they sat down, the two of them, and ate and drank together. And the father of the maiden said to the man, "Be willing, I pray thee, to remain overnight and make merry." The man, however, rose to depart, but his father-in-law constrained him, so that he again spent the night there. And he arose on the morning of the fifth day to depart, but the father-in-law said, "Strengthen thy heart, I pray thee, and delay till the day declines," and they ate both of them. And the man rose to depart, he and his consort and his servant, but his father-in-law, the father of the maiden, said to him: "Behold the day hath now declined, it is evening, stay overnight, I pray thee. Behold the day hath declined, stay the night here and you may set out on your way early in the morning and go to your home." But the man refused to stay overnight, and he arose and departed.[1]

It is also customary in the east that the departing guest should be accompanied by the host for some distance on his way. This, however, is a special mark of honour shown to a distinguished visitor. Such honour did Abraham show of old to the three angels whom he had so hospitably entertained at Mambre. "And they rose up from thence and looked towards Sodom: and Abraham walked with them to bring them on their way."[2] Laban upbraids Jacob for not allowing him to carry out this ceremony. "Why wouldst thou run away privately and not acquaint me, that I might have brought thee on thy way with joy, and with songs, and with timbrels, and with harps?"[3] And in the New Testament St. Luke mentions two occasions in which St. Paul was thus honoured. The Christians, when he left Miletus, "brought him on his way to the ship."[4] So too did the Tyrians

[1] Jud. xix. 4-10. [2] Gen. xviii. 16. [3] Gen. xxxi. 27. [4] Acts xx. 38.

a little later, "all bringing us on our way with their wives and children, till we were out of the city."[1]

Before taking leave of our eastern traveller we must give some idea of the greetings he interchanges with his host and with those whom he meets on the way. On this matter the Apostles received from the Master special instructions which need explanation. It is moreover generally admitted that the salutations current in a country furnish one of the best indications of the mind and sentiments of its inhabitants. Those now in use in Palestine are of a highly spiritual character and show a remarkable agreement with the ancient method of saluting as recorded in the Bible.

We learn from the New Testament that Our Lord's greeting to his disciples was: "Peace be with you."[2] And we have already cited an instance of the same formula in the Old Testament, when relating how the Levite was received by his host in Gabaa Benjamin. The Hebrew word, *shalom*, which we render "peace," has really the more comprehensive meaning of well-being, prosperity. The same is true of the corresponding Arabic word, *salam*, which also means salutation in general, and from which is derived the verb, *sallama*, meaning salute. The greeting is thus a wish that things may be well with the person greeted. In the east the formula, "Peace be with you," is now peculiar to Mohammedans, who never thus address non-Mohammedans except in a case of mistaken identity; and then, if they discover the mistake, they usually retract the wish. This exclusivity, which is based on the principle enunciated in Isaias, "There is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord,"[3] shows that the words have a religious significance, and illustrates admirably Our Lord's injunction to his disciples: "Into whatsoever house you enter first say: Peace be to this house. And if the son

[1] Acts xxi. 5. [2] John xx. 19, 21, 26; cf. Jud. vi. 23; 1 Sam. xxv. 6 etc.
[3] Isaias xlviii. 22.

of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall return to you."[1]

When Booz visited the reapers in the field his greeting was: "The Lord be with you," to which they answered: "The Lord bless you."[2] The first of these salutations, also used by the angel who visited Gedeon,[3] is still common in the east, the usual answer being "God protect you." The second, under the form "God bless you," is the guest's answer to his host when the latter says: "A blessing hath come," meaning that the visitor has brought a blessing on the house by his coming. More usually, however, as we learn from the Psalmist, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you" like "God bless you" in Ireland, was the greeting addressed by the passers-by to the harvesters in the corn-field.[4] Such too is the regular salutation of the wayfarer in the more isolated parts of Mount Lebanon. Its antiquity is evident from the fact that the Arabic-speaking mountaineers still express it in their ancient Syriae tongue, *Brokh Mor*, "the Blessing of the Lord." When the Blessed Virgin visited St. Elizabeth St. Luke tells us that she saluted her.[5] That this was the very salutation she used may be conjectured from the answer of St. Elizabeth, "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." It is very usual in the east to repeat or at least re-echo the salutation made and add something thereto. The answer to the salutation, "Your day be happy," is "Your day be happy and blessed;" to "Peace be with you" is "And with you be peace and God's mercy and His blessing." Elizabeth, re-echoing Our Lady's words and adding thereunto an emphatic declaration of the blessedness of her Son, uttered a typical eastern greeting, which fittingly takes its place with the Angelical Salutation in the Ave Maria.

This custom of re-echoing and adding to a pious

[1] Lc. x. 5-6. [2] Ruth ii. 4. [3] Jud. vi. 12; cf. Lc. i. 28. [4] Ps. cxxviii. 8. [5] Lc. i. 40.

salutation will be at once noticed as also a distinctly Irish one by anyone who has even a slight knowledge of the Gaelic tongue. Thus the most common Irish salutation, *Dia as Muire dhuit* ("God and Mary be with you") is answered by *Dia as Muire as Padraig dhuit* ("God and Mary and Patrick be with you"). It seems likely too that this common salutation originated as an answer to the old Irish and scriptural greeting, *Dia dhuit*, "God be with you." The deep spirituality of the Irish and the modern Orientals explains the similarity of some of their principal salutations, as it induced the former to adopt and the latter to perpetuate the ancient scriptural traditions.

The most ordinary salutation addressed to the guest on his arrival is *Ahlan wa Sahlan*, literally "people and a smooth place," to which is sometimes added *wa Marhaban bik*, "and a wide place for thee." The meaning is "you have with me a comfortable and capacious home." The expressions used by the host are often exaggerated and not meant to be taken literally. When he says *baiti baitak*, "my house is thy house," he means little more than we do when we say, "make yourself at home," as that parallel expression helps us to understand. But how should we be inclined to interpret the following greeting? "You have extremely honoured me by coming into my abode. I am not worthy of it.[1] This house is yours; you can burn it if you wish. My children also are at your disposal; I would sacrifice them all for your pleasure. What a blessed day this is, now that the light of your countenance has shone upon us." We should probably regard it as a sarcastic allusion to the presumed intentions of a certain class of very unwelcome visitors who molest and outrage peaceful homes. It is, however, a not uncommon form of welcome addressed to a dear friend in Syria.[2]

Another peculiarity of eastern salutations is their

[1] cf. Lc. vii. 6: "I am not worthy that thou should'st enter under my roof."

[2] Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, p. 91.

prolixity. When wayfarers meet they do not content themselves with a brief salutation, but also exchange compliments, personal inquiries and items of news at considerable length. Here is a specimen of a part of such a travellers' conversation :—

A—May God give you health and strength !

B—May God refresh and strengthen your life !

A—Whence has your excellent presence come and whither are you going ?

B—From Nazareth have I come and am facing towards Damascus.

A—What is the precious name ?

B—Your humble servant Mas^{c}ud son of Yusuf of the clan of Ayyub.

A—All honour, all honour !

B—All honour to your excellent presence and your respected clan !

A—What are your years ?

B—My years, friend, are four-and-thirty.

A—May Allah lengthen your days ! What children have you ?

B—Three sons in the keeping of God.

A—Long life to them and health and happiness ! What men does your clan count ?

B—We turn out seventy shot-guns.

A—Seventy shot-guns ! Valiant men ! What enemies have you in your native town ?

B—Our chief enemy is the clan of Haddad, etc., etc. [1]

We can now understand why Our Lord told his disciples in their mission to "salute no man by the way."[2] For the eastern generally time is of no consideration and may be spent in interminable conversations. Does not an oft-repeated Mohammedan tradition say that "haste is from the devil" ? But in the case of the disciples the opposite was true ; for, as the Scripture says, "the king's commandment was urgent."[3] Another interpretation of the words of Our Lord is that they meant "visit no man by the way ;" and this is supported by the command to the Apostles when they had reached

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[1] Rihbany l.c. p. 181-2. [2] Lc. x. 4. [3] Dan. iii. 22.

their destination, "whatsoever house you shall enter into, abide there, and depart not from thence."[1] But while a positive request to salute so and so on the way would imply a visit, it is less easy to understand the universal prohibition, "salute no man," in this limited sense. Besides we must distinguish between directions given for the journey and those to be observed when the goal is reached.

"Go in peace" is still the final salutation of the host to his guest when the latter takes his departure. With such words did Jethro bid farewell to Moses,[2] Heli to Anna,[3] Jonathan to David,[4] and Our Lord to the public sinner who had anointed his feet in the house of Simon the Pharisee.[5] The solemn attestation of fidelity expressed by David and Jonathan, "The Lord between me and thee,"[6] is still in use, as also is Joseph's salutation to Benjamin, "God be gracious to thee."[7] Another salutation, "God prolong thy life," used chiefly in making a request or, like the Irish, "Long life to you," in returning thanks for a favour, reminds us of the words "Live for ever" with which the Chaldaeans saluted their king in the Book of Daniel.[8]

In the east as with us greetings are expressed by action no less than by word. Prostrations, in which the forehead touches the earth, are often mentioned in Holy Scripture,[9] and are still, though generally in a somewhat modified form, a regular mode of salutation. The typical eastern "salam" is made in the following fashion: The visitor or inferior bows profoundly, touching the earth with his right hand, which he then raises successively to his breast, lips and forehead. This must be done three times. That the "salam" is a later modification of the complete prostration seems evident from the fact that the more elevated and important parts of

[1] Lc. ix. 4; x. 7.

[2] Ex. iv. 18. [3] 1 Sam. i. 17. [4] 1 Sam. xx. 42. [5] Lc. vii., 50. [6] 1 Sam. xx. 42. [7] Gen. xliii. 29. [8] Dan. ii. 4. [9] Gen. xliv. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 23. cf. also Gen. xviii. 2; xix. 1; xxxiii. 3, etc.

the body are thus, by means of the right hand, brought, as it were, into contact with the earth. The salutation, however, is generally understood to mean that the heart, lips and brain of him who makes it are entirely devoted to the person greeted.

St. Paul in his epistles refers more than once to another form of salutation, still common in the east, when he tells the faithful to " salute each other with a holy kiss."[1] Both the injunction itself and the adjective " holy " imply that this greeting bore a certain religious significance, which no doubt led to its adoption into the ritual of the Church. It is practised, for instance, in the ordination of priests and under a slightly modified form in the giving of the Pax at High Mass. The answer to the words used in the latter case would appear to indicate an eastern origin. The giver of the Pax says " Peace be with thee," to which the receiver replies, " And with thy spirit." Now " thy soul " or " thy spirit " is the Semitic way of expressing " thyself," which would be perhaps a little more natural than " thy spirit " in the reply. On certain occasions this form of salutation has a peculiar solemnity in the east to-day. Thus, for instance, after a burial the relatives of the deceased, standing round the newly-filled grave, kiss each other solemnly on both cheeks with the greeting " Peace to thy head." Then the others present form two rows, along which the relatives pass and receive from each in turn the kiss of consolation. This modern practice helps us to understand the solemn religious character of the custom sanctioned by St. Paul. It is hardly necessary to say that only men exchange these greetings in public. It is moreover quite usual to see men, closely connected by blood or friendship, kiss each other on both cheeks before the eyes of everybody when they meet again after a period of separation. Thus did Esau salute his brother, Jacob,[2] and Jethro

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[1] Rom. xvi. 16 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 20 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 12, etc. [2] Gen. xxxiii. 4

his son-in-law, Moses.[1] And Simon the Pharisee was guilty of a lack of courtesy in withholding this mark of respect when Our Divine Lord became his guest. "Thou gavest me no kiss."[2] It is a universal custom in the east on the part of Christian children to kiss the hand of any priest they meet.

The kindly greetings and generous hospitality, which smooth the rough way of the traveller in the east, should make us realise that the Oriental has his virtues as well as his defects. In kindliness, courtesy and spiritual outlook he compares very favourably with the more civilised western. The flow of European and American tourists has already given his hospitality a decidedly mercenary tinge. As a rule one must travel as a native if one wishes to enjoy it gratuitously. It is to be feared, too, that the mirage of culture and material prosperity will play havoc with his simplicity of view and spirituality of tone. We can only hope that our valiant missionaries will succeed in preserving to some extent these valuable remains of an ancient inheritance.

Customs connected with dress and mourning in the east will form the subject of our next article.

E. Power.

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[1] Ex. xviii. 7. [2] Lc. vii. 45

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

XV.—A Winter Campaign.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

The author of this poem was O Heóghusa (Eochaidh), for whom see No. IV of this series. He describes the extraordinary hardships encountered by his patron Maguire (Hugh), who served under O'Neill during the campaign in Munster at the beginning of the year 1600. Maguire did not live to return to Fermanagh. In a skirmish outside the city of Cork on the 1st of March he was killed by Sir Warham St. Leger, whom he fatally wounded.

Mangan's supposed version of "O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire" will be familiar to some readers. His latest editor says that in this "he is strikingly close to his original." But Mangan did not know Irish; his original was an inaccurate prose rendering by Ferguson, and apart from the vivid picture of appalling floods and frost and thunderstorms the details are all wrong. The risk of losing (*coill*) transport becomes a "wood"; the River Lee (*Laoi*) is taken as "days;" a bardic name of Munster becomes "the bosom of Mac-Nee," which is bounding with hope; and the great captain who is ravaging Desmond is turned into a poor wanderer, lonely, persecuted and betrayed, cheered only by memories, and warmed only by "the lightning of the soul." Mangan's poem must be judged on its own merits.

The text is here edited from 23 L 17 and 23 F 16 (R.I.A.). O'Grady in his Cat. of Ir. MSS. has edited nine quatrains from Egerton 111, a copy of 23 F 16. I give only the important variants.

O Heoghusa .i. Eochaidh cct.

1. Fúar liom an adhaighsi[1] dh'Aodh,
cúis tuirse truime a ciothbhraon;
mo thrúaighe sein dár seise,
neimh fhúaire na hoidhcheise.

2. Anocht, is neimh rem[2] chridhe,
fearthar frasa teintidhe
a gcomhdháil na gclá seacdha
mar tá is orghráin aigeanta.

[1] aghaidhsi L, oidhchesi F. [2] lem F.

3. Do hosgladh ós ochtaibh néll[1]
doirse uisgidhe an aiér[2]:
tug sé minlinnte 'na muir,
do sgé an fhirminnte a hurbhuidh.

4. Gémadh fíaidhmhíol a bhfiodhbhaidh,
gémadh éigne ar inbhiormhuir,
gémadh ealta, is doiligh dhi
soighidh ar eachtra an úairsi.

5. Sáoth leamsa Aodh Mhág Uidhir
anocht a gcrích chomhoidhigh,
fá ghrís ndeirg gcáorshoighnén gceath
fá fheirg bhfáobhoirnél bhfuileach.[3]

6. A gcóigeadh Chloinne Dáire
dursan linn dár leannáinne
idir dhorchladh bhfúairfhliuch bhfeóir
is confadh úaibhreach aieóir.[4]

7. Fúar liom dá leacain shubhaigh[5]
fráoch na n-iodhlann n-earrchamhail,
ag séideadh síonghάoth na reann
fá ríoghláoch ngéigeal nGaileang.

8. Sáoth linn, do loit ar meanmain,
learg thais a thaoibh míndealbhaigh
'gá meilt a ngrúamoidhche ghairbh,
a mbeirt fhúarfhoirfe iairn.[6]

9. Bos[7] tláith na dtachar n-édtláth,[8]
síon oighridh dá fhúaighealtáth
re crann rionnfhúar gcáol gceise
ionnfhúar dh' Aodh san oidhcheise.

[1] nél L, neól F. [2] aidhér L, aieaóir F. [3] bhfuighl—F.
[4] aidheóir L, aieaóir F. [5] tsubhuidh L. [6] iodhairn L, íaroinn F.
[7] Bás L. [8] neamhthláith F.

10. Nárab aithreach leis ná leam
a thurus timcheall Eireann ;
go ndeach tharainn—ná tí m'olc[1]—
an ní fá ngabhaim gúasácht.

11. Dá dtí ris an toisg[2] do thríall,
do chur chúarta Chráoi Mhaicniadh—
ní tháirtheamar séd mar soin—
créd acht snáithghearradh sáoghail ?

12. Líonaid[3] re hucht na n-ánrath
brúaigh ísle na n-úaránshroth ;
clúana sgor fá sgingbheirt reóidh
dá gcor[4] tar ingheilt d'aimhdheóin.

13. Folchar a gciomhsa cheana,[5]
nach léir do lucht foirgneamha
brúaigh easgadh na ngríanshroth nglan,
seasgadh fíanbhoth ní[6] fédtar.

14. Eagail dó, díochra an anbhúain,
coill eachraidh is aradhshlúaigh,
sul dighthir[7] tar síothLáoi síar,
a slighthibh[8] míonchráoi Mhaicniadh.

15. Ní hé budh[9] uireasbhaidh linn,
a thurus an tráth smúainim ;
lór do chor chúarta ar gcridhe
gomh fhúachta na haimsire.

16. Gidh eadh, is adhbhar téighthe
dhá ghnúis shúaithnidh[10] shoiléirthe
slios gach múir ghormsháothraigh gil
'na dhlúimh thonngháothmhair theintigh.

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[1] nar thí ar nolc F. [2] trath F. [3] Líonadh L. [4] ag dul F.
[5] ar cheana F. [6] nach L. [7] dtíghthir L, deachar F.
[8] do. creachadh F. [9] híad bús F. [10] shuaimhnidh F.

17. Téighidh[1] teannál an adhnaidh
sging reóidh an ruisg shocarghlain,
geimhle chuisne a chorrghlac ndonn,
donnbhrat luisne nos leaghonn.

18. Seachnóin Mhumhan na múr ngeal
iomdha ó airgtheóir[2] fhuinn Ghaoidheal
cúirte brúachnochta a mbeirt smóil,
ag ceilt fhúardhochta an aieóir.

19. Iomdha ó chúirt Aoidh Mhéig Uidhir
feadh íarthair fhóid fhionnfhuinidh
cúirt 'na doighir, ní díoth núa,
críoch gan oighir gan íarmhúa.[3] Fuar.

[1] Teighfidh F. [2] áirséoir L, airgsheoir F, [3] iarfua L.

Translation.

1. Too cold I deem this night for Hugh; the heaviness of its shower-drops is a cause of sadness; woe is me that this is our comrade's lot—the venom of this night's cold.
2. To-night (it is venom to my heart) fiery showers are poured forth; to think of him encountering the frozen spikes is hateful to the soul.
3. Over the clouds' bosoms the flood-gates of heaven have been opened: it has turned small pools to seas; the firmament has spewed out its destruction.
4. Though it were a wild hare in the wood, though it were a salmon in an estuary, though it were a flock of birds—it is grievous for them to venture abroad at this time.
5. Sad it is to me that Hugh Maguire, to-night in a strange land, lies under the lurid glow of showering, flashing thunderbolts, beneath the fury of armed savage[1] clouds.
6. We deem it a calamity that in the province of the Children of Dáire[2] our beloved is between a ridge (?) of cold, wet grass and the imperious fury of the heaven.
7. Too cold, I deem, for his blithe face is the rage of the wintry blasts, driving the stormy winds of the stars upon the white-armed kingly warrior of the Gaileanga.[3]
8. Grievous to me—it has wounded my heart—that the soft slope of his smooth comely side should be crushed in the wild sullen night, in a chilly suit of complete steel.

[1] Lit. "bloody." The var. *fuighleach* is translated "vociferous" by O'Grady.
[2] A name of West Munster, often called "the province of Cú Raoi son of Dáire." Another Dáire was father of Maicnia *infra*.
[3] A tribe settled in parts of Meath, Sligo, Cavan, etc.

9. Gentle hand versed in ungentle strife, icy weather welding it tight against the slender shaft of a cold-pointed spear—bitter it is for Hugh to-night!
10. May neither he nor I regret his journey around Ireland; let not my ruin come upon me—may that which I dread pass by me.
11. Should hurt come to him from the business upon which he has set out, to make a circuit of Maicnia's Fold[1]—we have found nought so precious as he[2]—what is it but a cutting of our very life's thread?
12. The low banks of the spring-rivulets are in flood against the warriors, the meadows of the steeds are wrapped in a cloak of ice, robbing them perforce of their pasture.
13. Already their margins are covered, so that those who have huts cannot see the watery banks of the (once) clear sunny brooks, and the tents cannot be dried.
14. There is danger—no false alarm—of the loss of horses and waggons, ere they win westward across the haunted [3] Lee, upon the roads of [4] Maicnia's smooth Fold.
15. That is not a loss that would touch me when I think of his journey; enough to search my very heart is the pain of the icy weather.
16. And yet, a cause that warms his splendid brilliant face is the side of each white blue-worked castle, changed to a fiery mass of tossing winds.
17. Conflagration's firebrand thaws the film of frost on the calm clear eye; the icy manacles on his smooth brown hands—'tis a red sheet of flame that melts them.
18. Throughout Munster of the white mansions, because of the ravager of the land of the Gaels, many are the courts bared to the very edge and clad in glowing embers, hiding the coldness of the air.
19. Because of Maguire's circuit, throughout the west of the fair sunset-land many is the court in flames, many the territory without heir or great-grandson.

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] A bardic name of Munster, from Maicnia, father of Lughaidh (Mac Con) who reigned from 195 to 225 A.D. according to the FM.

[2] Or "we have found no path like that."

[3] Or "peaceful." [4] "to ravage" F.

CREDO.

THE bees are gone from the clover,
And the leaves are blown from the tree,
And I know a bird turns southward
In a brave certainty;
And I know a bird will one day,
When the wind blows no less free,
Leaving the fields behind it,
Turn towards a vaster sea!

W. MONK GIBBON.

BENEDICTION.

EVENING doth kneel apart, enwrapt in prayer,
And with the sable hood about her hair
Smooth breezes play. The earth entire doth wait
The solemn benediction of the moon ;
For soon
The slow-revolving, iron-lockèd gate
Of sleep will close her round ;
Nor may she ever know
What unheard terrors, unseen shapes abound
Beyond that sombre portal,
Where no benignant sun doth shed his glow,
And where no beast can toil, nor any mortal.
Therefore she begs the blessing of the moon,
Which mute and ermine-stoled,
In that new-formed Shekinah, in that shroud
Of light-obscuring cloud,
Dwells for her peace and universal boon.
The very heavens are made aware
Of this most sacred rite ;
For lo, their flaming candles, one by one,
Are set aflare
And blaze in amethyst and chrysolite
About the dim, cloud-curtained throne.
While one deep ruby star, standing alone,
Like as a sentinel,
Watches throughout the night, immovable,
Upon the sanctuary
Where dwells the moon in veiled majesty
Within the star-bejewelled tabernacle.
There in the fields the harvest corn, full-blown,
Half dreaming of the sacramental Food,
Full reverently bows down
In deep beatitude.

The grape, too, blushing to a purple red,
Seems conscious of the sacramental Blood,
And meekly hangs her head
As though a mystic voice had said,
Rehearsing glad Elizabeth's salute
To gracious Mary in the days of old:
"Of thy womb blessèd is the fruit."
From off the suppliant earth up heaven's stair
Mounts the rich frankincense of evening prayer;
While, 'neath the lofty-vaulted baldachin,
Night, heavy coped in shimmering blue and gold,
In slow-paced meditation enters in
And, reverently kneeling, opens wide
The cloudy curtain that doth hide
The eucharistic moon.
And soon
She, the star-girdled priestess, doth uphold
Within her pure, white fingers consecrate
The Host immaculate,
Which gives itself to be our light
And blessing through the weary watches of the night.

A. V. Phillips.

MAL du PAYS.

He climbed the hills of Galilee
And watched the sunset on the sea;
He saw the sunburnt sails unfurled
Across their haven-circled world;

In sudden dusk, the stars were quick:
Like swords they pierced, for He was sick
With longing, on that wind-swept even,
For all the homeliness of Heaven.

Now when the stars are silver-lit
Around this hill and over it:
When homing boats bend round the bay
From Poliguen to Pornichet,

I, who have chosen wayfaring
On high adventure for the King,
Feel tears upon my tired eyes press,
And joyous, share His homesickness.

CECILIA ROSEMARY HALLACK.

RETROSPECT.

"Life all past
Is like the sky when the sun sets in it,
Clearest when farthest off."—D. G. Rossetti, *A last confession.*

WAS it indeed myself
That dream'd and wander'd twenty years ago,
And led that life so strange, directionless?
Was it myself?

Far, far ahead, meseem'd,
Horizons stretcht of high-uplifted snow,
Beyond the world's romantic wilderness,
Whereof I dream'd.

Was it indeed this I?
The track climbs steeply; lo! the goal in view.
And clear beneath the winding road lies bare
I travell'd by.

The same, yet not the same—
All chang'd around me, chang'd am I thereto,
Who needs must cross the river circling there
Of cleansing flame.

H. E. G. ROPE.

A DANTE DISCOVERY.

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IT is a commonplace of criticism to say that the *Divine Comedy* is a synthesis of the Middle Ages. In this epoch-marking poem, Dante's marvellous mind fused into an artistic whole religion, philosophy, science, erudition; classical and Christian thought; history and legend; the wide interests of humanity and the multitudinous passionate and particular interests of a Florentine citizen of the closing thirteenth century. But it is equally a commonplace to attribute to him in certain respects a power little short of creative; to marvel at his inexhaustible imagination in the *Inferno*, at the suave beauty of the *Purgatorio* and the spirituality of the *Paradiso;* above all at the deeply thought-out and coherent structure of his other-world. "Precursors" he had had, but their work was elementary. D'Ancona, Labitte, Ozanam, and Graf had gathered notices of the accessible legends in classical and medieval sources; and Vossler had extended his researches to Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Phœnicia, gleaning suggestions and resemblances here and there; but leaving Dante's reputation for originality intact—the originality, that is, of invention, the last thing that medieval writers cared about.

A recent work[1] shows that, if we must perhaps abate our admiration for Dante's uniqueness, we may transfer

[1] *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, por D. Miguel Asin Palacios. (Madrid, 1919).

it all to his vastness of mind—that in fact he offers a larger synthesis of medieval culture than we supposed. As St. Thomas christianized Aristotle, so does Dante seem to have adapted to his high Christian purpose an art-form that had been made the vehicle of lofty but unsound mystical teaching.

The author, D. Miguel Asin Palacios, is professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid and a most distinguished scholar. An article in *La Ciencia Tomista* (Nov.-Dec., 1914) conveniently sums up his extensive original work in the ill-explored field of Arabic philosophy and theology. This Dante book is, so to say, a bye-product of his specialized activity. Briefly, what he shows is as follows.

While Christian dogma and even popular literature before the eleventh century[1] were singularly restrained in descriptions of the world beyond the tomb, such descriptions simply abounded in Islam. A verse of the *Koran*[2]—"Celebrated be the praises of Him who took his servant [Mahomet] a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque [of Mecca] to the Remote Mosque [of Jerusalem], the precinct of which we have blessed, to show him of our signs"—gave rise to two legends or traditions, *hadiths*, about Mahomet: that of the *isra* or night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem; and that of the *mirach* or miraculous ascent into heaven. Both these legends appear from the 7th to the 9th century in a great number of versions, and even in their naïve and crude form contain far more resemblances with the *Divine Comedy* than any hitherto discovered "precursors." From the eighth century onwards, and down indeed to our own day in Islam, they were combined, arranged, commented on, expanded, and allegorically expounded. This process developed in Islam "an endless number of myths and legends of the other world, sometimes original,

[1] V. D'Ancona, *I precursori di Dante*, p. 41.

[2] Chap. XVII., Verse 1. (Palmer's translation).

sometimes taken from other religions—expecially Judaism, Mazdeism and Oriental Christianity[1]". Besides the popular fancy, all the zeal and learning of philosophers and theologians and even poets were devoted to the elaboration of a legend which was the crowning wonder of Mahomet's life. Some literary versions are half satirical and free-thinking. Some very early versions on the other hand reach a high degree of spirituality. For instance, an eighth century narrative of the *mirach*—attributed, it is true, not to an Arab but to a converted Persian or Syrian—describes a quite immaterial heaven, full of light and music; Mahomet, led up by Gabriel, hears songs of praise, which are texts from the *Koran;* his speed of flight is like that of the arrow and the wind; the light is so blinding that without miraculous intervention he cannot bear it, nor can human language describe it; the throne of God is reached after passing through various veils which are oceans of light, of darkness, of fire, of water, of pearls, of snow; it is circled by choirs of angels with the Cherubim nearest to God. From the lowest heaven to the throne stretches the symbolic figure of a cock—remotely like Dante's eagle—with plumage of dazzling brightness, which intones God's praises and whose cry is taken up by all the cocks on earth.

Again the story is made the vehicle of allegorical instruction. The most important of these didactic versions "are the work of the prince of Spanish-Mahometan mysticism, the Murcian Mohidín Abenarabi,[2] who died in the first half of the thirteenth century, twenty-five years before the Florentine poet was born. In one of them he takes the text of the *mirach* as his foundation, and beneath its letter endeavours to discover an allegorico-moral meaning, that is to say, an esoteric teaching of the gradual intuitions and revelations attained by the soul of the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 104.

[2] See the article in *La Ciencia Tomista*, where Senor Asin is quoted as saying that his works are a "copious fount of inspiration to which all the esoteric thinkers [in Islam] have gone to slake their thirst for religious ideals" down to our own day.

mystic in its ecstatic ascent, its upward flight towards God."[1] More important still is his *Alfotuhat almequia* or *Revelations of Mecca.* The *Fotuhat* devotes long chapters to the description of hell, a pit of fabulous depth consisting of seven circular storeys, each with its name and with most orderly local and moral subdivisions. A plan accompanies the description, consisting of concentric circles like our modern plans of the *Inferno.* The elevation is not drawn, but another Mahometan author has one which confirms the general conception.

Again the *hadiths* spoke of a place of punishment, the *sirat* or "path,"[2] which lay between hell and heaven. The *Fotuhat* says that "the *sirat* will stand on the back of hell, and only by walking through it will Paradise be reached," and again that it "will rise from earth in a straight line to the surface of the sphere of the stars, and will end in a meadow, which extends outside the walls of the celestial paradise, and into this meadow, called paradise of delights, men will first enter."[3] This "path" is divided into fifty mansions, in four groups; the last consists of seven enclosures, slippery rugged passages, up which men will have to climb laboriously through thousands of years. These seven last stages of ascent correspond to the seven principal sins against the Koranic code.

Thirdly, the *Fotuhat* describes the ascent of heaven as a symbol of the soul's destiny here and hereafter according as men accept the teachings of revelation or despise them. Two travellers, a rationalist philosopher and a theologian, make the journey together. In the preparatory and lower stages the indications of philosophy and theology coincide. The ascent is through seven heavens from that of the Moon to that of Saturn, by the distinctively Koranic "frequented house" and "lote-tree none may pass," through the heaven of the Fixed Stars and the sphere of the Zodiac. The prophets in each haven entertain the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 61. [2] Dante uses the word "path" (Purg. IV. 94) to signify the mountain of purgatory. [3] *Ibid.* p. 151.

theologian with explanations of physics, astronomy, cosmology and theology; the philosopher the while learning less clearly without any divine revelation from the *intelligences* of the spheres. He is left behind, saddened and wistful, at the "frequented house." The theologian sees all the blessed spirits assembled between the sphere of the Fixed Stars and the *primum mobile*—the plan of their positions is extremely like the arrangement of Dante's *candida rosa*—and above them reaches in sublime ecstatic vision the throne of God. The wonderful phenomena described are illustrated in the text by symbolic diagrams.

This bald summary has already suggested various resemblances with the *Divine Comedy.* In a short compass one cannot give any notion of the mass of detail from which it has been extracted. Dante's sense seems here and there[1] to be forced a little; the word "identical" is used when it would have been enough to say "strikingly alike"; Dante's literary superiority appears immeasurable, and in nothing more than in his selection and constructive use of all these materials; but it is impossible to resist the cumulative effect of Señor Asin's argument, supported by a general study of Mahometan ideas and their possible transmission to the West.

Every student of medieval European literature knows that a number of Eastern tales were part of the stock in trade of western story-tellers; we find them, for instance, in legends of the saints, in the Decameron, in the *fabliaux.* The possible channels of communication for Mahometan stories are many and definite, especially when we consider that the devout Mahometan regarded it as a religious exercise to learn by heart and transmit orally the *hadiths* about Mahomet. Apart from the long continued Musulman wars of conquest, there were the trade routes from the Caspian across Russia and the Baltic as far as Denmark, the British Isles and Iceland, assiduously followed from the eighth to the eleventh century; the Mediter-

[1] V. pp. 13, 22, 34, 106.

ranean trade routes opened up a little later than the land-routes and the brisk commerce carried on by Venetians and Genoese as well as by Moslems ; the ever-growing stream of pilgrimages to the Holy Places, but momentarily interrupted by the Mahometan conquest and greatly promoted by the " protectorate " of Charlemagne and his successors in the East—these pilgrimages assumed the character, we are told, of veritable expeditions on a huge scale. Then there were the Crusades, and after their failure, " starting from the thirteenth century, a new bond of spiritual intercourse . . . with Islam, through the missions of Franciscan and Dominican friars who, in order to bring their zeal for souls to a successful issue, are obliged to undertake a profound study of the language and the religious literature of their catachumens and to live long years amongst them."[1]

In the world of thought and the world of art the contact was more direct, more lasting, more productive of visible results. The power, prosperity, and splendour of Arabic civilisation—which had assimilated all the cultural elements of preceding civilisations—reached their height in Spain and prolonged themselves in centres like Toledo and Seville under the Christian reconquest. Toledo in the twelfth century was a centre for intense study of Arabic thought, and to its school of translations from Arabic came learned men from England, Germany, Italy. Schools for both kinds of learning, non-sectarian universities in fact, were founded in Murcia and in Seville under Alfonso the Learned. At the same time various translations of the life and legends of Mahomet, for the purpose of refuting Mahometan errors, were made into Latin or Romance. One must read in Señor Asin's evocative pages the description of all this movement, as well as his sketch of the brilliant and cultured court of Frederic II. in Sicily, a veritable Moorish court—to the scandal of Christendom—at which modern Italian literature was born.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 301.

We have a very probable intermediary between Dante and Arabic thought in the person of Brunetto Latini, the author of the encyclopaedic *Trésor*. He went as ambassador from Florence to the court of Alfonso the Learned in 1260, and thus had the chance of getting a more than mere book knowledge of Arabic culture. Now when Beatrice died thirty years later in Florence, Dante, until then by his own statement[1] quite the reverse of well-read, sought consolation in certain books; and "already seeing many things" by his natural intellectual power "as in a dream," he was soon moved to pursue lady philosophy "where she truly showed herself, in the schools of the religious and in the disputations of the philosophizers." Is it rash, following up Señor Asin's line of thought, to conjecture that Brunetto Latini, who lived until 1294 or 1295, was one of these? Within "thirty months" of Beatrice's death Dante was aflame with enthusiasm for philosophy and felt himself "lifted from the thought of the first love to the virtue of this"; and he saw the "marvellous vision[2]" which made him resolve to say no more about Beatrice until he should "say of her what was never yet said of any woman." Brunetto Latini can hardly have been a stranger to all these thoughts, for he assures Dante: "You cannot fail to reach a glorious harbour, if I judged aright in sweet life; if I had not died so soon, I would have supported you in your work"; and Dante bears impressed in his memory the image "dear, kind, fatherly" of the friend who often taught him "how a man makes himself immortal."[3]

Here are some instances of images and representations in the *Divine Comedy* that are easier to understand in the light of Mahometan conceptions—prescinding from the fact that most of the torments and many of the topographical details have their analogues in the *hadiths*.

Dante's neutral angels are unaccounted for in Christian

[1] V. the *Convito*, II., chap. 13.
[2] *Vita Nuova* XLIII.
[3] *Inferno*, 56–60, 83–85.

beliefs; while in the Mahometan limbo, *El Aaraf*, we find *genii*, who are not angels proper for they are not admitted to heaven, and of whom one, Iblis, the Mahometan Lucifer, is buried in hell.

It is an ancient Mahometan belief, still living, that hell is immediately beneath Jerusalem.

Dante and Virgil regularly turn to the left in hell. Abenarabi infers from a text of the Koran that the reprobate must walk to the left.

The Old Man of Crete, so like and so unlike the statue in Daniel (chap. II.), seems to be a very composite conception. In one *hadith* the four rivers of Paradise, the Nile, the Euphrates, Chihon, and Sihon spring from a monument of gold or emerald cleft in four places; in others the sources of the Nile are the mouths of eighty-five bronze statues, or they are in a mountain on which stands the mythical Jadir, a sort of reproduction of the biblical Enoch.

Nemrod and Pharaoh were in Mahometan theology the prototypes of Satanic pride and rebellion, and were relegated to the deepest hell, to the same region as Iblis.

Punishment by cold and even in a frozen lake is frequent in the *hadiths* and seems to be a feature imported from Persia; a Mahometan theologian of the ninth century asserts that it belongs to the Persian hell imagined by Zoroaster, in whose religion fire was a sacred thing.

The fall of Lucifer from heaven is one of the strangest conceptions in Dante; but it has most interesting parallels in Mahometan theology and legend. And there is a story explaining how the earth is supported in space. The earth, like hell and heaven, was conceived as divided into seven concentric storeys or strata, and "God sent from His throne an angel who fell upon the earth until he pierced its seven storeys; and there he stayed, supporting them on his shoulders, with one hand stretched out to the east and another to the west, securing the seven storeys, and without his feet having any support on which

to rest." No one who has tried to visualise the fall and position of Dante's Lucifer can fail to be struck by this description.

The mountain of Purgatory, foreshadowed in the earliest version of the *isra*, is crowned by Abenarabi and others with a terrestrial Paradise. There is a Spanish twelfth-century description, by Xaquir of Orihuela. Having traversed the *sirat* and left hell behind, men go up " to the plain which is the road to paradise." On reaching it " they begin to feel the breath, soft and light, cool and aromatic of the zephyr that reigns there, which brings refreshment to their souls." They come to two great trees of unearthly beauty, with fruit of delicious perfume and enchanting song-birds. From the root of each springs a crystal stream, with gardens and groves on its banks; and in these streams the new-comers bathe twice, besides drinking of the water, to refresh both body and soul. After a rest they go on guided by an angelic voice from garden to garden and are met by a brilliant cortege of servants and maidens, who precede the heavenly bride waiting in welcome.

Abenarabi's heaven, pantheistic though it is, is far in advance of the crude representations current in medieval Christian legends. It is the culmination of the long labour of Arabic commentators, theologians and mystics, who spiritualized the gross conceptions of the *Koran*,[1] largely by assimilating elements from neo-Platonic philosophy and Christian theology.

The concrete topography of the heavenly spheres is not apparently found before Dante outside Mahometan literature. The symmetrical conception of a heavenly Jerusalem lying vertically above the earthly one goes back in Islam to the seventh century. In some traditions

[1] Algazel and Averroes discuss the question (*Op. cit.* p. 180 *ff.*), and two Spanish Scholastics, Raymund Lully and Raymund Martini, reproduce their views. Now Dante quotes Algazel (*Convito*, II., 14) and in that chapter uses words almost identical with Abenarabi.

the bodies of the elect are translucid, like Virgil's in Dante. In the Mahometan heaven there is a tree of felicity ;— it is indicated in Abenarabi's plan as growing downwards, with its roots in the *primum mobile* and its branches spreading through all the seven ranks of blessed spirits as far as the fixed stars. This seems to throw light on a difficult passage in the *Paradiso :* " this fifth threshold of the tree that lives by the top and is always in fruit and never loses its leaves."[1]

Mahometan thought is treated with much tolerance in the *Divine Comedy* in the persons of the glories of Islam. And there are passages in the *Paradiso* " in which the metaphysical doctrine of light, essential to the Musulman *ixraquis*, appears exemplified under the same symbols of illumination, mirrors, circles, a centre, etc., by which it is revealed in them, so as to conceive the creation as an emanation or diffusion of divine light of which the teleological cause is love and the first effects a universal, incomposite matter and form."[2] Señor Asin agrees with the finding of an Italian investigator, Bruno Nardi, " that Dante, far from being an unconditional Thomist, is a Scholastic, but an eclectic one, who, without following any master in particular, accepts ideas and theories from all thinkers, ancient and medieval, Christian and Musulman, to fuse them in a personal system which, occupying a middle term between Thomism and Averroistic Avicennism, approximates more to the latter than to the former in a great many problems."[3]

It seems clear that Dante students cannot henceforward overlook this remarkable book. But for others too it opens up wide fields of interest.

Much study has been devoted to Dante's Celtic precursors, for instance the vision of Tundal, the voyage of

[1] XVIII. 28-33.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 334.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 333. The philosophical question, which is only incidental to Señor Asin's literary thesis, is beyond the scope and competence of the present article. It was raised in an interesting article by Professor O'Rahilly, " Was Dante a Thomist" ? in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August, 1916.

St. Brendan, the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory. What if the "Celtic" element were, after all, Mahometan in origin, a germ transplanted and flourishing in a favourable imaginative soil? Fierceness of spirit is particularly visible in Tundal, "cruelty mingled with sarcasm, not at all akin to the gentle pity of the Gospel, but rather to the harshness and violence of Judaism which we detect in many passages of the Koran." [1] D'Ancona says that this vision is unequalled for ingenuity in devising torments, but these torments all exist, as a matter of fact, in far older Mahometan stories.

In Dante, sin repented of is forgiven, but Tundal, "who accuses himself of having stolen a cow, is obliged by the angel to pass with it, now mad and violent, over the narrow bridge of the abyss." [2] This narrow bridge, which only the just can succeed in crossing, is a very common element in early Mahometan legends, into which it was imported from Persia, and it is frequent in Dante's "precursors." There is a *hadith* too about a mad cow—or sheep, or elephant—that will torment its owner in the other world, but his penalty is for having failed to pay the ritual dues on the animal.

In Tundal and in St. Patrick's Purgatory the just are kept in a place of waiting, to be admitted to heaven only at the last judgment. But this doctrine had been declared heretical in the fifth century; while it was living in Mahometanism and was the subject of many "traditions" as to the actual place of waiting. Again, it was a common belief in Islam that the reprobates enjoyed a cessation of their torments every Friday; and in St. Brendan's voyage exactly the same thing is related of Judas, who is allowed a respite every Sunday, as well as at Christmas and on the feasts of our Lady.

The wonderful story of the island-whale in St. Brendan is almost the same in the journeyings of Sinbad the Sailor, and is found in a more elementary form in the Avesta

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 244.

[2] D'Ancona, pp. 56 and 58.

and the Talmud. Incidentally, one reads with amusement in a quotation from an Arab writer of the ninth century, that even then sailors were famous for spinning yarns!

It opens up long vistas to the imagination to see Islam on its march of conquest gathering up, in addition to its own heterogeneous elements, fanciful or profound conceptions from Buddhist, Persian, Egyptian, Greek religions and philosophies and bringing them eventually to enrich the thought and symbol-world of the West. So that some nursery-tale, or some detail of a Gothic cathedral may set us in contact with vanished civilisations.

In quite another line of thought, the presentation of a fundamentally Christian aspect of Mahometanism is wonderfully interesting,[1] and the whole study has a distinct though indirect apologetic value; for, to borrow Señor Asin's conclusion, Christianity,

a perennial source of poetry and spirituality, is what gives us in the last resort the key to the genesis of Dante's poem and of his precursors, both Christian and Musulman. For Islam, let us say it for the last time, is but a bastard son of the Mosaic law and the Gospel, of which it assimilated, though only in part, the dogmas of the future life. Forsaking its primitive origin to live among all the religions and peoples of the East, and lacking the discerning curb of the infallible authority of a pontiff to put limits to the fertile fancy of the faithful in the interpretation of those dogmas, it audaciously decked out with all the imaginative elements of oriental eschatology, Christian and extra-Christian . . . . the simple but solemn and severe picture of the life beyond sketched in the pages of the Gospel. And Dante, in utilising for his poem those artistic elements that Islam offered him, and that in nowise altered the essential and immutable content of the Gospel dogmas about the world beyond, was only after all returning to the treasury of Christian culture in the West and recovering for its patrimony the landed possessions that, all unknown, lay in the religious literatures of Oriental peoples and that Islam at last restored, after having enriched and extended them by the effort of its creative fancy.

MARY RYAN.

[1] Cf. the two remarkable books by Ernest Psichari: *Le Voyage du Centurion* and *Les Voix qui crient dans le désert.*

HENRY FORD: CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

AMONGST the fairy tales of modern industry that of Henry Ford may be counted unique. Twenty years ago he was an unknown engineer; to-day the motor car which bears his name is to be found in every quarter of the world. The Ford Motor Company was started in 1903 and during its first years working produced 1,708 cars. In 1919-20 the production was 996,660 cars and 79,013 tractors. For 1920-21 the estimated production is 1,250,000 cars and 200,000 tractors.[1] The daily output of cars is now well over 4,000. Between these figures of 1903 and 1920 lies the history of a great manufacturing business built up on seemingly irreconcilable facts, for hand in hand with this constantly increasing and improving production there has been a great increase of pay to the workers and repeated reductions in price to the public. What is the personality behind these startling results? What are the ideals worked out in them and under what conditions and methods have they been secured? To answer these questions must be of interest not only to students of human nature, but to all men of enterprise and high business ideals—and particularly to Irishmen, for Henry Ford is of Irish descent and one of his latest industrial enterprises is the great Fordson factory at Cork.

His father, William Ford, was born near Clonakilty in the County of Cork in the year 1827 and emigrated to America in "black '47," being then only twenty years of age. He was of farming stock and soon after his arrival in America bought a forty acre farm in Greenfield township eight miles west of Detroit, Michigan. This little holding formed portion of a larger farm of two

[1] *Ford News*, November 1, 1920.

hundred acres belonging to a family called Litogot. The young Irish farmer courted the daughter of the house, Mary Litogot, married her, and eventually became owner of the whole estate. Six children, three boys and three girls, were born to them before the untimely death of the young mother at the early age of thirty-five years.

Of these six children the eldest was Henry Ford, born on July 30, 1863, who grew to be a slender lad with a passion for mechanical construction. He learned to read and write at home, and when he reached seven years of age went to the local school at Springwells. From the earliest years he was attracted towards mechanical things ; but his father naturally wished him to become a farmer. At sixteen years of age, having finally decided to leave the land, he left school and went to Detroit, where he entered Flower Brother's machine shop as an apprentice and at the same time began to do night work with a small watch and jewellery repairer called McGill. Even before he left his father's farm he had rigged up a repair shop where he acted as mechanical adviser and repairer to the country side, so he fell easily into the new work at Detroit. Flower Brothers were general machinists and steam engine builders, employing some forty men, and with them young Ford served for nine months. His next employment was with the Dry Dock Engine Company of Detroit, marine engineers, who built steam engines exclusively. They employed over two hundred hands and had the largest machine shop then existing at Detroit. At the end of two years he felt that the Dry Docks Company had no more to teach him and he left their employment to take service with John Cheeny, agent for the Westinghouse portable steam engine. His new position was that of " road expert "—going out to set up new engines, to give instructions to purchasers and to make repairs. This was a summer job, and Henry Ford, never idle for a minute and just twenty-one years of age, put in the two winters he held it working in his old shop at his father's farm.

Here he had tools that enabled him to build any small size machine that interested his adventurous mind. He worked most of the time on a farm locomotive, mounted on mowing machine cast iron wheels and driven by a single cylinder steam engine. It was not designed for any special service, the idea being to make it serve as a general farm tractor. When he started to build the present Fordson tractor, Henry Ford was therefore merely returning to his first mechanical offspring.

It will be seen thus early in life that it was not only mechanics that interested the young inventor, but particularly and above all mechanics as applied to the land. It is impossible to understand Henry Ford's purpose and achievement without remembering that he came from the land and that his real interest lies in the development of the land. Many years later he wrote :—

> Farming need not be an all year job. The farmer, the crop harvested and his field work done, should be free to devote himself to other lines of work and to broaden his experience and improve his point of view. We have greatly overestimated the cities—most people will agree with that. When we all stand up and sing "My Country 'tis of Thee," we seldom think of the cities. Indeed in that old national hymn there are no references to the city at all. It sings of rocks and rivers and hills—the great American Out-of-doors. And that is really the country. The real United States lies outside the cities. The food that sustains us, the raw material that feeds our factories, the broad waterways on which our commerce floats—all of these have their sources outside the cities. The wealth with which people speculate has its origin in scenes far different, and if you want to see the true foundations of the Treasury of the United States, look at the soil beneath your feet. The fresh moist earth is the greatest of all gold mines, and the wealth it produces does only good and never harm. We are going back to this ideal of the land some day. Both as an economic measure and as a plan whereby each man may get the most pleasure and profit out of life, all of us are going to be proud to be known as tillers of the soil.[1]

At the end of his two years work for Cheeny, his father, seeking to win him back to the soil, made him a present of

[1] *Dearborn Independent* (Ford International Weekly), May 3, 1919.

a forty acre farm at Dearborn. This land was largely forest, and Henry bought a circular saw mill, rented a portable engine to drive it, went to work for a harvester company, repairing portable engines in the summer and running his saw mill in the winter. At the end of his twenty-fourth year he married Miss Clara J. Bryant of Greenfield, Michigan, a neighbour's daughter. The issue of this marriage is an only son, Edsel Bryant Ford, born November 6, 1893. Immediately after his marriage he built a house with his own timber on the Dearborn farm and moved his private machine shop from his father's farm to his new home. Here he now began to build a steam road car which was the forerunner of the famous Ford car. After many experiments he finally concluded that the steam engine was not the best motive power for a road passenger vehicle and abandoned the project. At the same time he gave up his life as a farmer at Dearborn and moved into Detroit, where he obtained employment as engineer with the Detroit Edison Illuminating Company. In the yard behind his little house at 58 Bagley Street, Detroit, he set up his machine shop and began further experiments with his car.

For seven years he worked all day in the Edison engine-room and most of the night in his machine shop. In this shop he built the first Ford petrol-driven passenger car. It was placed on the road in 1893, ran well and could do twenty-five miles an hour. In 1895 he began his second car, which was a marked improvement on the first and was placed on the road in 1898. In the same year he left the Edison Company, and the Detroit Automobile Company was formed to manufacture his car. It had a capital of $50,000, of which Henry Ford held one-sixth. In 1901 he left this Company (now the Cadillac Automobile Company), bought a new machine shop at Park Place, Detroit, and began the construction of a new car which was completed in 1902. Mr. Ford built this car without assistance and promptly organised the Ford Motor Com-

pany with a capital of $100,000, of which he held twenty-five per cent. The commercial model, the first Ford car known to the world at large, was placed on the market in June 1903. From the start the Ford Motor Company was highly successful.

Realizing in 1906 that he could not carry out his own clearly defined policies without complete control, he brought his holding in the Company up to 51 per cent. of the entire capital. In 1919 he purchased the remainder of the shares, and the Company was reorganised under the laws of Delaware with a capital of $100,000,000. During the reconstruction period last winter the Ford Company, like most others, was hard pressed through the fall in prices. Wall Street and the Jewish financial interests, whom Mr. Ford intensely dislikes and has publicly exposed,[1] thought they saw their chance to bring the great manufacturer to the dust. The Ford Company were then faced with maturing obligations amounting to nearly £15,000,000. The Wall Street bankers dictated terms to Mr. Ford which would have involved handing over control of the Ford Company to their nominees. Mr. Ford showed them the door without ceremony and joined issue. He had to find many millions and quickly. Purchases of raw material were cut off and at all the 35 Ford factories everything in hand was manufactured into finished products, the agents throughout the world were compelled under their contracts to take a certain quota of cars and pay for them, all accounts due to the company (amounting to £1,750,000) were collected, and finally the Detroit, Toledo and Ironton Railway, which belongs to the Ford Company, was used to deliver quickly all cars in transit. The fight was fought and won; but it was a near thing, as practically every car which the firm owned was sold before the necessary amount was raised.[2]

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[1] See "The International Jew. The world's foremost problem" and "Jewish activities in the United States" published by the Dearborn Publishing Co.

[2] *The Times*, July 25, 1921

In the year 1920, the United States possessed 9,211,295 motor vehicles, or one to every eleven inhabitants. These figures show that eighty-three per cent. of the world's motor cars and lorries are in the United States ; and, what is more remarkable, approximately fifty per cent. of these cars are Fords and thirty-three per cent. are owned by farmers. Texas and Iowa have both more farmer-owned cars than the whole of the cars registered in the United Kingdom this year. Henry Ford, the man who made this possible, the farmer's son from Michigan, was thinking primarily of the farmers when he designed his car. This cheap, strong, powerful car was essential to the American farmer who has long distances to travel generally over bad roads. This farm-born and farm-bred boy applied his genius for mechanical construction to the service of his own people. He knew the necessity, and genius enabled him to satisfy it.

The activities of the Ford Motor Company are now world-wide. The parent factory, where the largest number of cars are manufactured, is at Highland Park, Detroit. A large site has recently been acquired at Green Island on the Hudson River, New York, where the company is constructing a hydro-electric power plant for utilization of the surplus waters of the United States Government dam. Eight thousand horse power will be generated and used in a manufacturing plant along the Hudson River. Construction work has already been started ; but it will take a year and a half to complete.[1] Other factories are situated at Ford, Ontario (Canada), right opposite Detroit, at Hamilton, Ohio and at Manchester, England. There are also large car assembly plants at Copenhagen, Cadiz, Bordeaux, Buenos Aires, and in most of the big American States.

The tractor is manufactured in America at River Rouge, Detroit, where Mr. Ford built submarine chasers, called "Eagle boats," during the war. The Rouge plant has

[1] *Ford News*, May 1, 1921.

direct water transport to the lakes, and when the Welland and St. Lawrence canals are enlarged it is hoped that trans-ocean cargo steamers will operate direct between the River Rouge factory and Copenhagen, Manchester, Cork, Cadiz and Bordeaux.[1] River Rouge would then be practically an ocean port. Other tractor plants in America are situated at Des Moines, Iowa and at Kearney, New Jersey. Fifty thousand Fordson tractors were manufactured in America during the last six months. The Fordson tractor, first put on the market in 1914, is the smallest and cheapest power plant yet devised for farm use. Combining, like the car, great power with light weight it bids fair to eventually revolutionise farming as much as the Ford car has revolutionised transit.

The European tractor factory and distributing centre is at Cork. The Fordson property in Cork consists of 138 acres formerly used as a racecourse and known as Cork Park, with a fine water front and reinforced concrete wharf 500 feet long where ocean going steamers can discharge their cargoes and ship the tractors to European ports. Construction was begun in April, 1917, but was much retarded by war conditions. The buildings already erected are the foundry (covering over two acres) and the machine shop (covering two and three-quarter acres), making together about five acres of permanent buildings. In addition to these there are approximately two acres of temporary structures chiefly used for administration purposes. The whole work was carried out by direct labour, without a single fatal accident, in four years. The output of tractors, when working full time, is 150 per week, and this can easily be much increased when trade improves. The Cork factory is not a mere assembly plant. Ninety per cent. of the tractor is now manufactured in Ireland. In addition to the tractor the engine of the car is also made at the Cork factory. Previous to the recent slump in the motor industry close on 2,000

[1] *Ford News.* November 1, 1920.

hands were employed, and it is confidently hoped that this number will be greatly exceeded in the near future.

The managing director, Mr. Edward Grace, is one of Mr. Ford's "young men." He graduated with honours in the great Detroit factory, and has brought a wide and varied experience to the service of the Cork project. His second in command, Mr. E. L. Clarke, is a young Irishman from County Sligo, with considerable commercial experience. It is pleasant to record that the management have found their Irish employees second to none in intelligence and industry. The possibilities of development before the Cork factory are enormous as soon as the economic life of Europe begins to return to the normal.

Amongst other undertakings owned by the Ford Company the principal is the Detroit, Toledo and Ironton Railroad, which is approximately 500 miles in length and which runs in a direct south-easterly line from Detroit to Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia. This line connects the Ford factories at Detroit with the Hamilton factory and the Ford coal mines in West Virginia and Kentucky. Iron ore is transported to the River Rouge plant by giant lake cargo steamers from the Ford mines which are situated on the upper peninsula of Michigan. Experimental work is constantly being carried on in the Ford laboratories, and their latest achievement is a self-propelled petrol-driven railroad car which runs at 72 miles an hour and consumes 50 gallons of petrol every 216 miles. Developments of more sensational interest may be expected in the future.

The big Ford factory at Highland Park, Detroit, resembles a busy city with its numerous activities. It operates its own power, heating and lighting plant, fire department, telephone and telegraph exchanges, freight and express offices, laboratories and machine shops; it maintains its own schools, hospital, safety and hygiene department, motion picture studio, park and athletic field, band and auditorium, educational and legal departments,

house agents office, grocery, drug and shoe stores, meat market, tailor shop and newspaper.

The machines of a particular class or type are not grouped as in many factories. It is Mr. Ford's idea to have each department contain the machinery required to complete each part it produces. To illustrate, a rough forging or casting starts in a department at one point, passes through the required operations, and leaves the department a finished product, ready to be assembled into the car. Such a system necessitates grouping together many different machines, sometimes including brazing furnaces, generally found in separate buildings. One building covers 700,000 square feet and contains 11,000 machines. The whole factory is kept scrupulously clean.

The company does comparatively little warehousing of stock. It has what might be termed a "milling in transit" system, that is the raw materials are taken from the freight cars, checked, then taken to the machines, and finally from the machines back to the freight cars for loading and shipping to assembly plants and stations. This necessitates the most careful planning and most complete checking of all materials in transit. During last year over 100,000 freight cars were needed to handle Ford freight.

The "final assembly line" is a special feature of Ford factory methods. Here the cars are completely assembled on a moving conveyor. First a rear axle unit and frame unit are combined and started in action. As it moves down the room, each man adds one part to the growing car, or completes one operation, so that when the car reaches the end of the line it is ready to run on its own power.

The power plant is one of the largest in the world. It furnishes the factory with electric power, with light, hot and cold water, steam for the steam hammers, gas for heat treating, compressed air for special operations, heat

in winter and cool washed air in summer. It has equipment sufficient to furnish a modern city of 500,000 inhabitants with water, gas, electricity and ice, and produces heat enough to supply the entire business district and all the public buildings. Nine combination gas engines designed by Ford engineers develop 54,000 combined horse power. None of the coal for this power house, from the time it arrives in the coal cars, until, as ashes, it is carried away in small dummy cars, is ever handled by hand.

One of the most interesting institutions of the Highland Park Factory is its educational department. In May 1914, twenty foreign employees, representing half a dozen different races, met after work with a teacher in a small factory office to study the English language. The Ford officials appreciated the potentialities of the new development, and the Ford English school was started. Workmen and company alike acclaimed its success, and the pupils soon increased in number. There followed in quick succession the "Apprentice School" which offered Ford men an opportunity to learn tool making, and a "Trade School" where boys, who would otherwise be denied it, got a chance to continue their academic education while learning a trade. The "Service School" was the last to be organised. Its curriculum provides for a five weeks course to familiarize repairmen with the Ford mechanism and the best methods for making repairs or adjustments on Ford cars and Ford tractors. Besides these four schools special courses arranged to meet definite needs have been added from time to time. These courses have dealt with such subjects as chemistry, electricity and metallurgy in their varied aspects. A superintendent of Ford Schools controls this educational work.

There are now over a thousand students attending classes daily, and a staff of seventy-five teachers and instructors is maintained. The student's work in the factory is co-ordinated as far as possible with his study, and diplomas are awarded to all graduates. Since 1914

16,000 Ford men have graduated from the English school alone. In the Trade School each boy receives a scholarship of 400 dollars annually, which is increased to 900 dollars by gradual stages. Each boy also receives a complete medical and dental overhauling on entrance. The classes are divided into three groups, one of which is in the class room and two in the school shop. Each week the groups shift, and the boy who has spent a week in class enters the shop for two weeks. The boys are trained in the school shop by expert mechanics, and when their course is finished they can get employment from the company.

A special cinema department produces the "Ford Educational Weekly," which deals with various phases of trade, manufacture, agriculture, and life in home and foreign lands from an educational standpoint. Each week a new film is produced and shown in at least half the picture theatres of the United States.

Adjoining the Ford School is the Ford Athletic Park, a twenty acre plot presented to the employees by Mr, Ford. Concerts are given there during the summer months, and in the winter portion is turned into a skating pond.

The medical department has twenty rooms and a full staff of physicians, surgeons and specialists. No applicant for work is rejected because of his physical condition, and work has been found for 9,563 sub-normal men. Of this number ten are totally blind, 207 blind in one eye, 37 deaf and dumb, 234 have only one foot or leg, and the others are so physically handicapped that most lines of work are not open to them.

Ford safety engineers continually strive to make the plant just as safe a place to work in as possible. These results are gained in two ways: first, by the installation of guards and mechanical devices; and secondly, by educating the men constantly in safety methods. Every man is interested in the work, and some of the most effective safety measures now in use have come as suggestions from the workmen. During the year 1919, out of

a total of 55,000 workmen there was only one fatality. Had all the other industrial concerns in the United States maintained the same percentage for the year, only 760 workmen would have been killed instead of 22,000.

There is no common restaurant or dining hall; but the employees' lunch is served from little waggons carrying soup, box lunches, sandwiches, pie, fruit, and bottles of hot coffee and milk. These move quickly through the factory at lunch time.

At the Ford stores the men can purchase fish, meat, groceries and clothes at cost, only the actual expense of handling the goods being added to the buying price.

In January 1914, Mr. Ford set aside ten million dollars to be added to the men's wages under a Profit Sharing Plan, reduced the hours of work from nine to eight, and took away the power of arbitrary discharge. His employees then numbered 13,000. Six years later his employees had grown to 80,000 and he had then distributed over one hundred million dollars in profits. In January 1920, Mr. Ford having obtained complete control of the company, the old profit sharing plan was supplanted by a Bonus and Investment Plan which put eight million dollars into the employees' hands as a reward and bonus for their service during the preceding year, and opened to them the opportunity of investing their earnings with the company on most profitable terms. It is interesting to note that these benefits are shared by Mr. Ford's Irish employees in the Cork factory.

One naturally desires to know something of the personality behind this remarkable industrial achievement. It may be said that his factories and products reflect the man. Is it any wonder that this man, who constructs with his own hands, whose ambitions, sympathies, thought, processes and very life have been that of toiler and thinker combined, should manufacture a car for the masses and that he should endeavour to improve the lot of the men who work in his factories? Those who know Mr. Ford

say that the keynote of his character is simplicity—simplicity of purpose, simplicity of interests, simplicity of life. The life story which has been briefly sketched at the commencement of this article supplies the key—the farm-born and farm-bred boy with an irresistible inclination towards mechanical construction, gathering an engineering shop together on the farm, becoming at the age of sixteen a skilled repairer of everything that comes his way from watches to farm machinery, and all this (much to his father's disapproval) without pay, for the mere love of doing things; then leaving the home for the drudgery of the city machine shop, and quickly changing employment as soon as one shop had no more to teach him, until the constantly appearing passion for mechanically propelled vehicles of service to agriculture finally led him from the boy-built farm locomotive to the highly efficient Ford car, Ford truck and Fordson tractor of to-day. For Henry Ford is not only a great mechanical inventor, he is first and above all a man of the soil. Simplicity, comradeship, co-operation—these are the key notes of his character. Caring little about literature or art, he has yet well defined views about life which he ventilates in the pages of his illustrated weekly paper, the *Dearborn Independent*. From these one gathers that he dislikes smoking and drink, is a pacifist by temperament, and has a very strong dislike for the Jewish race and particularly for their financial methods.

> The only honourable way of making money [he writes] is to make those articles and perform those services which rest upon a solid basis of need and value, in whose creation there is no waste, in whose use there is no vanity. To put this matter on strictly moral grounds, labour is just as culpable when it offers itself for any purpose that will pay its price, as is capital when it serves a wasteful and harmful desire of humanity because it pays. Labour must think of these things and think seriously. We must get a conscience as to the things we work on. Not only must we make certain that the day's work will give us the day's pay, but we must be certain that after we give the day's work to our employer, he

in turn will use it to the advantage and service of society. Conscience and common sense would very soon weed out non-essential, artificial and wasteful industries, and would very soon put sound industries on a sound basis of service and reward. And when we have mentioned conscience and common sense we have struck bottom, for these are the essential marks of human value. And in that order too ; for conscience as the moral element must always come first ; and common sense, the intellectual element, second, as the servant of conscience.[1]

In person he is of full medium height, spare, active, and perfectly healthy, eating but two meals a day and apparently never knowing fatigue. He has built up about himself not so much an organization but a staff of young, able, energetic men who contribute their best to the common task. The whole vast expansion of the Ford plant rests upon a broad simple foundation—the commercial success of the Ford car. The small price, simplicity, small fuel consumption, low weight, and general suitability for both business and pleasure combined with the inherent desire of humanity for rapid transit and the special attention to the service needs of Ford owners, all help to produce the enormous demand for the Ford car which makes its production in tremendous numbers possible. Ford agents cover the world, and every Ford agent can supply missing or broken parts at bare cost ; this is the unique service system which has made the Ford car a universal favourite and necessity.

It is difficult to foretell the future developments of this great enterprise, but Mr. Ford himself has no doubts as to his aims.

The best service [he writes] that any man can now do to bring about a better state of things is to be absolutely loyal to the thing he is doing in the three Principal Arts—Agriculture, Manufacture and Transportation. Speculators may have to stop, but not farmers. Money-makers may have to quit, but not plough-makers. These necessary things tide over any break and are already the substance of the newer time. Anyone labouring in the three Principal Arts to-day has a hand in re-making the world for his children. Anyone curtailing them is holding back society.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

[1] *Dearborn Independent*, January 3, 1920.

POETRY, RELIGION AND PROFESSOR SANTAYANA.

PROFESSOR GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

LOGAN P. SMITH: *Little Essays drawn from the Writings of George Santayana.* (Constable. 1920. 12*s.* 6*d.* net).

GEORGE SANTAYANA: *Character and Opinion in the United States.* (Constable. 1920. 10*s.* 6*d.* net).

IT is nothing new or strange that a man should overvalue his own trade; that, when one has entered the palace of Truth by any particular portico, that entrance should seem to him henceforth—if not the only one—at least one peculiarly central, majestic and sufficient. Professor Santayana, as his books testify, has entered the shrine through the portal of literature and æsthetic criticism.[1] It is not, then, surprising if æsthetic preoccupations have largely guided his intuitions as a philosopher and cost him, regrettably, the loss of any complete or true vision of the goddess. The pity is the greater as he really is a philosopher. He owns in an unusual degree the gifts which go to the effective thinking-out and the effective expression of metaphysics and its sister sciences. But his æsthetic prejudices seem to have affected the development of his philosophy as a "vinum daemonum"—a fermenting element that has set frothing a strange confusion of values. Other causes of the disorder may, no doubt, also be detected—a dislike of Christianity, associated with an ignorance and ignoring of the deeper implications and workings of Christianity, and a fondness (not, indeed, very warm—warmth is no characteristic of his works) for a Hegelian view of the universe—a philosophy of flux, illusion and scepticism. But the most determining element of the Professor's

[1]We use throughout the title "Professor," Dr. Santayana having occupied for a long period of years a chair of philosophy in Harvard University. In 1912 he resigned his professorship.

conclusions on things in general seems to be a literary æstheticism which, meeting on no side strong rivalry, turns itself from the outset to dangerous usurpations.

It is not, again, surprising if an æstheticism thus venturesome to claim all knowledge as its province, should perform its own proper functions with marked distinction. Professor Santayana's literary and critical capabilities may leave him an inadequate philosopher, but they qualify him as a very competent and agreeable guide to literature. Such a book as his on *The Sense of Beauty*, though its thought is self-excluded from the highest ranges, is nevertheless commendable for its fineness of form, æsthetic insight, and even for the spirituality of its views as contrasted with the duller materialism of much current literary and art criticism. Not to dwell on such matters as "Form" and "Expression," rhyme, the difference between poetry and prose, we may quote the following from a passage which is a good contribution to the large question of Art's relation to Ethics :—

> Æsthetic and other interests are not separable units, to be compared externally; they are rather strands interwoven in the texture of everything. . . . Consequently the love of beauty has to justify itself not merely extrinsically, or as a constituent part of life more or less to be insisted on; it has to justify itself also as an influence. . . . To criticise art on moral grounds is to pay it a high compliment by assuming that it aims to be adequate and is addressed to a comprehensive mind. The only way in which art could allow such criticism would be to protest its irresponsible infancy, and admit that it was a more or less amiable blatancy in individuals and not *art* at all. . . . If an artist's inspiration has been happy, it has been so because his work can sweeten or ennoble the mind and because its total effect will be beneficent. Art being a part of life, the criticism of art is a part of morals.

The value of this sane theorizing is not all lost because elsewhere it appears that the theorist is too much inclined to lower ethics to the level of art. Here, at least, he puts it plainly that morals have a control of art because they have a control of all free human action. Our guides

in æsthetic doctrine have not always had sufficient modesty or insight to admit this doctrine.

Passing from general art-theory to studies of particular art-topics, one finds our theorist especially at home in the realm of music. He analyses well, for example, the working and power of complex music.

> Beneath its hypnotic power, music, for the musician, has an intellectual essence. Out of simple chords and melodies, which at first catch only the ear, he weaves elaborate compositions that by their form appeal also to the mind. This side of music resembles a richer versification; it may be compared also to mathematics or arabesques. A moving arabesque that has a vital dimension, an audible mathematics adding sense to form, and a versification that, since it has no subject-matter, cannot do violence to it by its complex artifices—these are types of pure, living, altogether joyful and delightful things. . . . The musician, like an architect or goldsmith working in sound, but freer than they from material trammels, can expand for ever his yielding labyrinth; every step opens up new vistas, every decision—how unlike those made in real life! multiplies opportunities and widens the horizon before him, without preventing him from going back at will to begin afresh at any point, to trace the other possible paths leading thence through various magic landscapes. Pure music is pure art.

Turning to literary judgments, if we wish to find Prof. Santayana in an unusually exhilarating as well as aggressive mood, we shall select the essay entitled "The Poetry of Barbarism." The exhilaration will communicate itself to any reader of unengaged sympathies, but not to friends and admirers of the two poets who are dealt with as "barbarians," and who are Whitman and Browning. Already the combination of names will suggest to any good Browningite that an assault is threatened upon his idol; and undoubtedly the combination is piquant.

The "barbarian" in poetry is not the simple, primitive bard or chanter, the Homer: we are not asked to take our stand with a vapid culturism; no, (our critic tells us) "Homer, the first of poets, was also the best and most poetical." The barbarian in poetry is the

poet of the scattered and partial vision, of imperfect and blind vehemence. His crude productions have received the ordering touch neither of history nor of logic. He regards his own passions as their own excuse for being; he does not domesticate them either by understanding their cause or by conceiving their ideal goal. He may have genius, and, if so, of course his genius will exercise its spell, and, unhappily, help not only to excuse but sometimes to consecrate his failings. For no poet is so undisciplined that he will not find many readers, if he finds readers at all, less disciplined than himself.

It is not hard to see the applicability of all this to Whitman. The critic disposes of him thus :—

He basked in the sunshine of perception and wallowed in the stream of his own sensibility, as later at Camden in the shallows of his favourite brook. . . . A multiplicity of images pass before him, and he yields himself to each in turn with absolute passivity. The world has no inside; it is a phantasmagoria of continuous visions. . . . The common man of his choice he did not understand . . . his insight did not go beyond a sensuous sympathy. . . . It is obvious that both his music and his philosophy are those of a barbarian, almost of a savage.

Browning is more complex :—

It is obvious that we are in the presence of a great writer, of a great imaginative force, of a master in the expression of emotion.

But the large array of cultivated people who have thought Browning a valuable thinker, a philosopher, ought not to be encouraged :—

Even without reference to ultimate ideals, one may notice in Browning many superficial signs of that deepest of all failures—the failure in rationality and the indifference to perfection. Such a sign is the turgid style, weighty without nobility, pointed without naturalness or precision. Another sign is the "realism" of the personages . . . always displaying traits of character and never attaining character as a whole. . . . His art (with all its love of dramatic forms) is all self-expression or satire. For the most part his hero, like Whitman's, is himself—not appearing, as in the case of the American bard, in *puris naturalibus*, but masked in all sorts of historical and romantic finery.

Browning claimed Italy as his "University"; but he had not studied therein either aptly or profoundly.

> The most commanding and representative, the deepest and most appealing of Italian natures . . . a Saint Francis, a Dante, a Michael Angelo . . . for Browning these men and what they represented may be said not to have existed. He saw, he studied, and he painted a decapitated Italy. His vision could not mount so high as her head.

What of Browning on love, heaven, and "last rides together"?

> Browning has no idea of an intelligible good which the phases of life might approach and with reference to which they might constitute a progress. His notion is simply that the game of life, the exhilaration of action, is inexhaustible. You may set up your tenpins again after you have bowled them over, and you may keep up the sport for ever. The point is to bring them down as often as possible with a master-stroke and a big bang.

Even the Browningite must acknowledge, we think, the telling style in which the assailant has "got in" these strokes.

It would be agreeable, did space permit, to contrast with this animated piece of polemic Dr. Santayana's sympathetic study of Emerson. Here it is, plainly, a kindred spirit that is analysed and illuminated. The sympathy, however, is by no means of a cloying kind; there is in it a refreshing pinch of salt. Or (to change again the metaphor) one feels that the essayist looks upon his subject with the peculiar smile wherewith the Roman augur was said to greet, in the presence of the profane, a brother augur. Emerson would assuredly not have relished all his friend's commemorative touches—being presented, for example, as "the Psyche of Puritanism," "the latest-born and fairest vision far" "of all that faded hierarchy," a Psyche hardly herself orthodox but descended from clerical ancestry.

It is as we pass on to the region of supreme artists such as Dante and Shakespeare that we become in-

creasingly conscious of our guide's limitations. To many aspects of their genius his criticism is indeed fully alive; he does not fail to allot them measures of just and generous praise. But their greatness is never seen in a true and adequate light. Dante, for example, is spoken of regretfully as a poet who spoiled science by making it fantastic. This is simply the Professor's way of complaining that Dante's poetry held fast by the objective validity of Christianity and of Christian philosophy. Dante's mind, in truth, came nearer than any other to the sublime achievement of a poetry which is theology and of a theology which is poetry: Dr. Santayana has in view a very different synthesis of these two terms.

Of Shakespeare we are told that he is "without a philosophy and without a religion." This thesis, we maintain, is substantially untrue; and in the course of an essay entitled "The Absence of Religion in Shakespeare" the Professor fails to make good his contention. Elsewhere he says, with no better justification, that Shakespeare took his religion "passively" from those round about him. As if a unanimous religious *entourage* were a common circumstance in Elizabeth's day, or were, anyhow, likely to have been the *entourage* of Shakespeare! That a certain mystery clings round the dramatist's religious beliefs or religious reticences need not be denied. But we think it is quite as undeniable that his view of life and its problems was steadied and cleared by a strong apprehension, both mental and moral, of the essentials of Christian dogma—an apprehension which may often be subconscious, or concealed, or may waver for an instant, but which is always substantially, pervasively present; a strong apprehension which the Catholics Patmore and Thompson have (as poets) hardly surpassed and the Catholics Dryden and Pope certainly not equalled.

Now, this kind of poetry is not what Professor Santayana desires to find in his poets, and this kind of religion is not what he desires to find in his (if we may

use the horrid word) religionists. Poetry, he believes, is religion. He has expanded and expounded this proposition with leisurely plenitude in a volume published in 1916 and entitled *Poetry and Religion.*

> Religious doctrines [he there says] would do well to withdraw their pretension to be dealing with matters of fact . . . [Religion's] proper concern is to express the ideal. . . . Poetry has a universal and a moral function. . . . Its deepest beauty comes from its response to the ultimate demand of the soul.

What the world, accordingly, needs is abundance of poetry expressive of human ideals and thereby responding to " the ultimate demands of the soul " and, correlatively, readers sufficiently enlightened to be content with mere make-believe for an ideal and for a goal. Let the illusions but be poetic; let the make-believe be sublime and imposing; and, behold, we have true religion—the best we can have in this imperfect world, better, at all events, than the outworn dogmatic systems. Thus endowed shall humanity enter upon " a triumph amid illusions, an order within chaos, *la gloire du néant.*[1]" So shall progressive Society at length quit the quicksands of the positive creeds and find in " the intense inane " of poetic idealism solid acreage whereupon to construct its improved artisans' dwellings. All this may seem to involve a curious inversion of values; but such is indeed the system of this professor of philosophy.

" Religion," he tells us, " may falsely represent the ideal as a reality; " but in so doing she is merely trying to rise into that region of purest poetry from which her crude positivism necessarily excludes her. " Take, for instance, the doctrine of transubstantiation—a metaphor is here the basis of a dogma, because the dogma rises to the same subtle region as the metaphor, and gathers

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[1] Words used by Prof. Santayana to describe the system of a certain " Jean de Lahor," but no less applicable to his own. He remarks, in fact, that metaphysical criticism should have little fault to find with " Lahor's " system.

its sap from the same soil of emotion." So, in like manner, the beauty, significance, value of Christ's crucifixion only come when it has been transformed by imagination.

> The central fact of Christ's history, narrated by every Evangelist, would still be nothing but a painful incident, as unessential to the Christian religion as the death of Socrates to the Socratic philosophy, were it not transformed by the imagination of the believer. . . . The whole of Christion doctrine is thus religious and efficacious only when it becomes poetry.

One may notice in passing the curious misunderstanding which underlies the parallel here suggested. There is, of course, no real analogy whatever between the death of Socrates as an important and moving incident in the history of a philosophy and the death of Christ as it is viewed by the faith of Christians. What is claimed by the disciple in the one case is something radically and, in fact, infinitely different from what is claimed by the believer in the other.

But our chief concern is with the Professor's general attitude towards the truths of Christianity and the values claimed for them. We may recall the vogue enjoyed, some forty or fifty years ago, by the Strauss and Renan theories which represented "the imagination of the believer" as the creator of the main historic facts asserted or supposed by Christianity. With the reduction of those pivotal facts to the rank of myths it was generally supposed that their value as foundations of a religion would also have ended. The new æsthetic idealism is more delicate in its treatment of the historic grounds of religion. "Fictions, no doubt," exclaims this school; "fictions they are; but what beautiful fictions! And that is the only point of importance. If religion will but give up her old habit of maintaining that her fictions are facts; if she will attend zealously to her true function as an academy of ideal art and *belles-lettres*, then we shall

have much pleasure in acknowledging the beauty of her inventions and her consequent right to exist—nay, in recognising the high utility and decorativeness of her social functions."

The utility of religion—at least when it is not too utterly irrational—its pragmatic necessity for mankind in general is a point quite clear to the Professor, as it is to all the more judicious anti-Christian theorists. "Religion may falsely represent the ideal as a reality;" but how unpleasant things would become if she did not! "We must remember that the ideal, if not so represented, would be despised by the majority of men." And then where should we be? Leave the multitude without religion, and in vain shall we multiply our professors and our policemen. With an atheist mob life would become intolerable for the atheist *élite*. We cannot allow the stability of our pleasant social order to depend upon the elevating influences of Homer, Dante, and Goethe as exercised upon our actual or potential house-breakers and murderers. Let us, for heaven's sake—or for culture's sake—"leave to the nightingale her shady woods," leave to our Harvards their lectures on æsthetic religion, but also to our masses and "criminal classes" their beliefs or shreds of beliefs in dogmatic Christianity. *Populus vult decipi; decipiatur!* Their heaven, so crudely objective, if it won't save their souls, will at least save our comforts!

We would suggest that the pragmatic value thus unhesitatingly allowed to religion is in itself a matter worthy of the best attention of a philosopher. Is not this need of religion, felt by the world as a necessary condition or means of the working out of its own best hopes and possibilities, in itself a notable argument that religion is really what she herself declares that she is? And what does she declare that she is? First and before all things, assuredly, does she protest her existence—her existence absolute, positive and objective. She is (she assures us)

a body of truths and of laws, with an origin and an end, with fulcrums and sanctions, not the less but the more substantial for being outside mere humanity, outside time and space. Of Christianity, at all events, this is what her exponents uncompromisingly assert. She is nothing less, if she is anything, than the messenger, the voice, of the one self-subsistent Reality. Her stability, her credentials are based upon the word and the essence of Him who said : " I am Who am."

And where are the rivals who, denying her claims, undertake to do her work ? A pretty obvious argument against the theory of poetry as a substitute for religion, is the attitude towards it, actual or conjectural, of the great " creative " artists whom the æsthetic idealist would fain line up into an opposition camp. How many of them would accept such a standpoint for a moment ? It will be difficult to find a bare two or three of them who have seriously contended that even the most " creative " art was to be taken as the successful rival of religion. Various as may have been the views, the weaknesses and errors of such men as Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Corneille and (*pace* the Professor) Shakespeare ; of such men, again, as Michelangelo and Leonardo, Bach and Mozart ; yet they were, every one of them, as far removed from the æsthetic idealism of Professor Santayana as any man of mere commonsense could be. Surely a noteworthy coincidence of opinions ! While, with men of action (such as Napoleon) or with prudent philosophers (such as Dr. Santayana), they felt the need of religion as the basis of the life of the common man, their more delicate perceptions, higher intuitions and wider aims felt the necessity—mental, moral and emotional —of its solid realities for their own selves. Even a mere butterfly among them, like poor Alfred de Musset, might be cited to express the graver thoughts of the rest. What though Truth came to seem to him awful and unbeautiful, yet he knew that in reality she *is* Truth immortal and

beautiful: she is the voice of God; and woe to him who slights her call!

Quand j'ai connu la vérité,
J'ai cru y trouver une amie;
Quand je l'ai comprise et sentie,
J'en étais déjà dégoûté.

Cependant elle est immortelle,
Et ceux qui se sont passés d'elle
Ici-bas ont tout ignoré.

Dieu parle; il faut qu'on lui réponde.

Nor may the philosophic eye overlook that splendid phalanx of the intellectual champions of objective religion, who, as they lived it, so defended it; who blended "une foi de charbonnier" with the highest capacity for ideal creation. Socrates and Augustine, Moses and Confucius, Plato and Aquinas, Plotinus and Newton, and how many more of endless variety in mental turn and outlook!—were yet alike in their belief in religion—in religion as a definite something, outside themselves, dominating life, no mere creation or category of the human brain.

Let us quote one of them. It shall be St. Augustine, fresh from his buffetings amid the bitter waves of passion and doubt.

I ask anyone had he rather joy in truth or in falsehood? They will as little hesitate to say: "In the truth" as to say that they desire to be happy. But the blessed life is joy in the truth; for this is a joying in Thee, who art the truth, O God, my light, health of my countenance, my God. I have met with many that would deceive: who would choose to be deceived? No one . . . sometimes the mind of man, blind and sick, foul and ill-favoured, wishes to be hidden; but that aught should be hidden from it, it wills not. . . . Even while thus wretched it would rather rejoice in truths than in falsehood. (*Confessions*, X. 23).

I was amazed that I now loved Thee, and no phantasm instead of Thee. . . . I had found the unchangeable and true eternity of truth above any changeable mind. . . . I saw Thy "invisible

things understood by the things that are made." . . . I returned to my accustomed ways, bearing with me a loving remembrance and longing for that the scent of which I had perceived but which I was as yet unable to feed upon. (*Confessions*, VII. 17.)

Such words of such men are like those of seafarers who have known face to face the mighty ocean; who have plumbed its depths and charted its isles, who have scanned with serene eye its wild storms and its illimitable sunshine. Standing by its shore, they can relate to us strange true tales of strain and horror and of marvellous deliverances by the hand of the Lord. Meanwhile the æsthetic idealist also lifts up his voice beside the waves. He is the minstrel of the summer sea-side resort, who tink-a-tinks his guitar for the well-dressed crowd on the sands, and celebrates in doubtful tenor "the close of a perfect day," his lyrics making the twilight and the ocean trivial.

Religion, truly, is infinitely more than poetry. If she were not, humanity would long ago have lost patience with her assumptions. "Life is real, life is earnest:" it is a universal sentiment echoed by one of the most popular of poets. If religion be not equally real and earnest, what claim has she to rule life or us?

Truth does not always show as beauty, nor is beauty the whole of truth. The assertion of the contrary is a mockery of hungry humanity. Keats, even at twenty, ought not to have slipped into that easy jingle that "beauty is truth, truth beauty." Life must already have taught him better wisdom.

"But has not the poetry of the great poets power to enlighten, to purify, to uplift, to strengthen, both morally and intellectually? And has it not often discharged admirably these religious functions?" We answer:—"Certainly! There is much truth in these often-made assertions." Even such imperfectly religious poetry as that of a Pindar or a Milton must ere now have brought to numberless souls the suggestions and the *stimuli* of

moral good. But is this done by virtue of their poetry as such? Certainly not! It is by virtue of the message which the poetry drives home. We may say that the poetry "drives"; but the poetry without the message, would be merely as a driving-pile with nothing to drive, as a gunpowder-flash without a projectile. And the message which Pindar or Milton sends home with the force of his genius is the message (in either case) of an uncompromisingly objective and dogmatic religion, of a religion which, Greek or Christian, never pretended that it was made to please man, or that all its truth was beauty.

And the poets themselves have rarely misunderstood all this. With the exception of a very few foolish poets, they admitted or declared that it was not within the range of their art to console efficaciously life's sorrows, or to purify from life's stains, or to strengthen for life's combats. *Fungar inani munere!* Hands full of poetic lilies, Virgil knew well, could not hide the blackness of young Marcellus's coffin, nor still the pain of loss in his mother's heart, nor drive out unscrupulous ambitions from the soul of Rome's despot. The song of a poet may lull passion to sleep for a moment. It can do more, if it is the faithful voice of a Truth that descends from a sphere higher than its own. But of itself, fluttering over the intestine wars that surge among men or within the human spirit, it is a song-bird pathetically futile. Fictitious ideals, mirages of hope, precepts of petty human wisdom—such things, flung into the angry lions' den, only supply new prey for their jaws, perhaps new incitements to their fury. Or, at best, perhaps, they may be tossed aside to take their chance of serving as the toys of a quieter hour.

George O'Neill.

REVIEWS.

Apologetics.

THESAURUS DOCTRINAE CATHOLICAE EX DOCUMENTIS MAGISTERII ECCLESIASTICI. Ordine methodico disposuit Ferdinandus Cavallera, Lector theologiae positivae in facultate theologica Tolosana. Paris : Beauchesne. 1920. 35 fr.

We have here a real treasure in fact as in name. There already exists a number of handbooks giving selections of ecclesiastical documents for the use of students,—that which goes under the name Denzinger-Bannwart being perhaps the best known and most useful. This Thesaurus differs from others in its plan. It is not chronological but methodical, the documents being sorted and grouped according to subjects. The different theological treatises—the Church, Christology, Justification, and so on—receive each a section to itself, and in the section the arrangement is sometimes chronological and sometimes logical, as best suits the subject in hand. By the use of appropriate headings and sub-headings the editor makes the arrangement of his matter quite clear and easy to follow. Though the volume contains over 800 pages, an excellent table of contents and very full indices make it easy for the reader to find his way about. There is a chronological index to all the documents cited, an *index rerum et verborum*, and two tables of concordance for referring from this Thesaurus to Denzinger's *Enchiridion* and *vice versa*.

It needs no pointing out how useful it is to have the authoritative teaching of the Church thus classified and arranged. And, embodying as it does the new Code of Canon Law, it may be considered up-to-date. The book is invaluable for the theological student. If, for example, he is studying the question of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, he has here at hand all that is important in the decisions of Councils and utterances of the Popes

themselves from Clement I. in the first century down to our own day. The same applies to various points of sacramental theology, where it is so important to take historical development into account. In short, this volume is one for serious study, and not merely for reference. It would be well to procure it while the exchange is so much in our favour. H. A. J.

THE PROOF OF THE GOSPEL. Being the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea. By W. J. Ferrar. 2 vols. London: S.P.C.K. 1920. 30*s.* net.

PHILOSOPHOUMENA, or the Refutation of all Heresies. Translated by F. Legge, F.S.A. 2 vols. Same publisher. 1921. 30*s.* net.

We have already reviewed a number of the translations of early Christian literature issued by the S.P.C.K. The two before us exhibit the same good qualities as their predecessors. They are well printed, of convenient size, provided with notes and indices, and scholarly yet readable introductions. The price, however, in the present case causes surprise. 30*s.* for two volumes of about 200 pages each will make a purchaser hesitate even in these days when we have come to regard high prices for books with some resignation. If the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius could not have been given us in its entirety cheaper than this, it would have been better to abridge it. This indeed has been done in the present translation to the extent that many of the Old Testament passages on which Eusebius bases his arguments are not reproduced. But the process of condensation or selection might have been carried further. There are magnificent things in this work of Eusebius about the New Testament as the heir of the promises of the Old and about the character and claims of Christ our Lord. But there are also chapters and whole books interpreting the details of Old Testament prophecy where a great enthusiasm is needed to sustain the reader. So much is admitted in the publisher's notice—"much of the work is inevitably tedious to us to-day."

But it is a pity something could not have been done to avert the risk of a reader regretting the purchase of such a book as the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius. We should like to see a carefully chosen selection published. Nothing more forcible has ever been written in the way of apologetic literature than the Third Book, with its convincing *reductio ad absurdum* of the supposition that Christ was a deceiver or a sorcerer. And there is a

delightful vein of satire in the hypothetical speech put in the mouths of the Apostles :—

> Dear friends, you and I know better than anyone else the character of the master of deceit whom we have seen undergo the supreme penalty, for we were let into his secrets. . . Let us say we have seen him bestow sight on the blind, and give hearing to the deaf, which none of us ever heard tell of. . . To put it in a word, we must insist that he really did and said what we never saw him do, or heard him say. . . Let us be bold and resolute. . . Why should we object to undergoing scourging and torture for no good reason ? . . . We will tell the same lies, and invent stories that will benefit nobody, neither ourselves nor those we deceive nor him who is deified by our lies. . . And suppose we convince nobody, at any rate we shall have the satisfaction of drawing down upon ourselves, in return for our inventions, the retribution of our deceit.

The *Philosophoumena* is not of such general interest. It is a work ascribed to Hippolytus, a bishop and martyr of the third century, and contains an exposition of the tenets of the Greek philosophers, an account of the tricks of diviners and magicians, and a refutation of various heresies that arose in the early Church. Its greatest value is in showing how marvellously, amid so many opportunities of error, the Church kept the course of orthodoxy—a tortuous passage through an uncharted sea of rocks. With the ribs of so many vessels showing on every danger-point, it is not reasonable to deny divine guidance to the one which passed safely through. H. A. J.

REBUILDING A LOST FAITH. By an American Agnostic. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1921. 10*s.* net.
A WAYFARING MAN. By Richard Ellison. London and Edinburgh : Sands. 1921. 6*s.* net.

THERE is much common to both these books, although they differ somewhat in style and character. Both are symptomatic of the breakdown of Protestant belief which is becoming increasingly prevalent in Great Britain and America. Huge numbers of men and women are yearning for the certainty and security which the Catholic Faith alone can bring, but which alas ! comparatively few have the courage to embrace. Such accounts as Mr. Ellison and the anonymous American author supply of their struggles towards the light are not merely intensely interesting, but may prove a great assistance to kindred suffering souls. *Rebuilding a Lost Faith* goes into very full detail as to the lines of argument by which the author reached the haven of rest ; it may even be considered a compendium of controversial topics. It would thus be of interest to an enquirer who was already awake as to the necessity of resolving his doubts about the truth of Catholicism.

On the other hand, in our opinion *A Wayfaring Man* is a more arresting book for the ordinary reader who is in need of a thrill. It is the work of a man who has wandered over a great part of the known world and at the same time travelled by devious roads towards his final goal in the Catholic Church. Though his mental experiences have not been really exceptional—are not all records of conversion to Catholicism fundamentally alike ?—yet he has produced an unusually attractive book. With the art that conceals itself he has allowed his record to be " personal " in the best way, thus revealing a strong, unflinching nature. He deals hard blows on the weak and compromising champions of a dying faith, but shows a broad tolerance for those who like himself are blind gropers for the truth even though over-prone to scepticism. He is indeed strongly of opinion that the ordinary Agnostic of to-day is by no means as irreligious as he may appear. Some of his statements on this and other subjects will be considered by Catholic readers as over-strongly put. We notice the absence of any " censura," from which we gather that the writer wished to express his thoughts out of the fullness of his own heart, rather than as a definite exposition of his newly-found religion. The book is eminently clear, straight-forward, and rational, and deserves a wide circulation. Above all, it is a marvellous portrayal of the depths of obstinate prejudice about Catholicity to which an otherwise experienced and open-minded man of the world is in our days liable. H. B.

Classics.

HOMER UND BABYLON. Ein Lösungsversuch der homerischen Frage vom orientalischen Standpunkte aus. Von Dr. Hermann Wirth. Freiburg i. Breisgau : Herder. 1921. M. 94.

To gain even a superficial knowledge of the wealth of problems that centre round the Homeric question in all its ramifications requires years of study ; and yet this problem, according to Wilamowitz, is only a fraction of a larger historical problem, that of the genesis of the Greek people and their civilization. New discoveries in the shape of cuneiform literature and other remains have, in spite of the aberrations of pseudo-scholars in the " Babel and Bible " controversies of some decades ago, added distinctly to our understanding of the potent influence exercised on the world, and especially on the Greek world, by the great civilizations on the Tigris and Euphrates. *Lux ex Oriente !* Yet this light serves only to deepen the shadows surrounding the Homeric question.

Dr. Wirth in the present monograph systematises, for the first time, in a popular-scientific manner all that is of more or less accredited value for an understanding of the earliest mutual interaction between the Greek and Semitic cultures. He adds unity to the question by centring the whole enquiry round the perennially interesting problem of Homer and the Homeric Epos, which he thus attacks from a new standpoint.

In the first chapters he gives a summary of the attempts to approach this hoary problem ; and then strikes out on a path of his own, following to its ultimate conclusions the theories of Welcker, Rothe, Drerup, and others as to the influence exercised on the genesis of the Homeric poems by the Babylonian-Assyrian civilization through its intermediaries the Phœnicians, Aramaeans and Hittites. Through the greater part of the book (chaps. 3-12) he traces the history of these influences of the Semitic East on Greek religion and mythology, astronomy and music, art, language and literature, for which the Homeric poems offer the best commentary. The cuneiform literature, and especially the Gilgamesh Epic (the oldest portion of which goes back to the time of Hammurabi, circa 2000 B.C.), is introduced to illustrate the striking parallels with scenes in the *Odyssey*. From the Phœnicians, who play an important rôle in the Homeric Epic, the Greeks learned the art of writing and, according to Dr. Wirth, much of the mythology and sagas of Babylonian provenance. The Greeks were conscious of this Eastern influence, as is shown *e.g.* by their personifying and canonising Semitic musical terms like Linos (cf. *Iliad* xviii. 569), Cinyras (*kinnor*=Hebrew for double-flute), etc. The word "Homer," too, is of Semitic origin (Aramaic *Zammar*= musician, singer) : it may be earlier than the actual author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whose name and personality have disappeared behind his work. Our Homer, the singer *par excellence*, conversant with Phœnician-Babylonian literary influences then spread over Asia-Minor, incorporated the best of these foreign elements into the Greek Epos, thus "modernising" it by the choice of certain materials, individual *motifs* and poetic technique. Thus parallel with the amalgam in religion, mythology and art, we have a literary syncretism from which blossomed forth the Homeric Epos. Ionia, where this racial and cultural amalgam especially obtained, is probably the home of a poet whose eternal worth lies chiefly in his universality and strong grasp of human life. He remains for all that a Greek—the Greek spirit of liberty pervades his poems.

Dr. Wirth makes a good case for postulating a stronger Oriental influence on the Homeric poems than has been conceded heretofore ;

though a direct proof for his thesis as to the Semitic origin and meaning of the word "Homer" has yet to be found. The book is replete with good literary references for the student who wishes to study for himself any of the suggestive points raised by Dr. Wirth in the course of his enquiry.

It is a consoling truth, however, that, unconcerned with theories of Homeric scholars and away above their heads, we may still hold direct converse with this "ageless mouth of the world." Like a mountain amidst the lifting mist his poetry stands out, against the evershifting background of legend and theory, an eternal fact.

J. J. C.

Education.

HISTOIRE DE LA PEDAGOGIE. Par F. Collard, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. Bruxelles: A. de Boeck, Rue Royale, 265. 1920. Pp. 646. 14fr. 50c.

THE elaborate and suggestive treatise of Monsieur Collard, *Méthodologie*, has made his name, and his Department of Education at Louvain, most favourably known to educators for the past twenty years. His lectures on the outstanding names in the History of Modern Education have long been known to many outside his own students, by his numerous articles on special topics. The present work, a finely printed and remarkably cheap volume, gives us his considered exposition and criticism of leading theorists, and organisers of modern schools, at even greater length and fuller detail than any one course of University lectures could include. We owe it to the venerable writer's heroic effort to reconstitute his courses, after their total destruction, together with his vast library on educational subjects, in the calamitous fires that ruined so much of accumulated research at Louvain seven years ago. One can well believe that these personal losses, such as the crushing one suffered by Professor Collard, outweighed in their severity and untoward consequences even the total loss of the University Library itself.

Monsieur Collard's effort has on the whole been as successful as it was surely noble. He has the gifts of clear and simple exposition of the whole scope of the works of writers and organisers, together with plain and sober criticism of their views and tendencies. The student and the teacher are here sure to get in ample detail an exposition of the doctrines of such theorists as Montaigne, Comenius, Herbart, and of lesser names in groups: and also a systematic statement of the organising work done for instance by

the Jesuits and by de La Salle. The American plan of putting the individual, above all the individual organiser, in the front, and in the centre of the front line, is carried right through this most serviceable volume. The plan is less successful in the earlier stage, since M. Collard covers the Ancient and Mediaeval periods in less than one-tenth of the whole extent of his treatise. Had it been definitely limited to Renaissance and Modern Education, it would have been a truer example of his skill. One regrets also not to have from his pen fuller general surveys of the actual position of school-work at a given period in Western or Latin Europe as a whole, say about 1500, about 1700, and at the Revolutionary Epoch. Again, a practised scholar like M. Collard could do much to make his readers realise how the History of Education is in large part a resultant of the general history of Economics and of Civilisation.

But the limpid exposition and carefully-balanced judgments of specific outstanding writers is of very high value and enduring importance: and all who have the opportunity of consulting his pages will find them to unite markedly objective exposition with a thorough appreciation of how the problems of the past in education are reflected in the complexities of to-day. There is a most useful concluding pair of chapters on modern education in Belgium and on education in the twentieth century, which shows how a veteran worker can contemplate the emerging problems of our time with confidence and serenity of view. T. C.

SISTER MARY OF ST. PHILIP (FRANCES MARY LESCHER): 1825-1904. By a Sister of Notre Dame. London: Longmans. 1920. Pp. xv., 342. 18*s.* net.

THE special distinction of this full and well-documented biography is that it is above all a spiritual book, insisting throughout on the supreme value of supernatural motives, means, and ends in education. The reader will not fail to see, of course, that the founder and perfector of the great Training College of Notre Dame, at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, was a valiant woman, impressive owing to the splendid natural qualities which she used in amplest measure. One independent opinion, that of an experienced and highly-placed official, was that she might "fearlessly place her hand on the helm of the state" (p. 110): other similar views of those who met her in her work are casually recorded in this biography. But though these special gifts were made to do heroic service, they were all subordinate to the conviction that education

is above all for eternal life : that its aim cannot without utter loss be lowered, and that prayer and grace and divine guidance are its most essential instruments. How well the splendid endeavour at Mount Pleasant succeeded, this volume fully shows : it is an unceasing lesson on the value of the doctrine that if the Kingdom of God is sought first in education, all else will be added.

Naturally the subject-matter has almost exclusive reference to Great Britain—and save for one or two chapters—to England. To the foundress and organiser of a Catholic Training College it was obvious that the Training System there was the " central fortress " : and the College meant the Teachers whom it sent out to work. The life here presented is a complete exposition of the practical consequence of the belief that the school and the class are just what the teacher is : and many other places of the kind could learn from these lessons of care and after-care. They can learn that it is when a Training System is thoroughly based on Catholic principles that it attracts most attention and admiration from those who are outside the Catholic System. Everything at Mount Pleasant, it is easy to see in these pages, was a demonstration in applied Catholicity : it faced and mastered every problem, public or professional, with the conscious power to assimilate the good, reject the bad, and elevate what it could accept from the policies of statesmen and the doctrines of educational propagandists. In no other field of higher education are these Catholic principles so necessary in practice as in dealing with the Theory and Practice of Education. Error, exaggeration, and omission are the inevitable birthmarks of the naturalistic philosophies which beset the student and the worker in this varied field of work. This biography is a vivid presentation of a noble, practical, and in every sense successful life devoted to true Education. T. C.

History.

IRELAND UNDER THE NORMANS, 1216-1333. By Goddard Henry Orpen. Vols. III and IV. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1920. 30*s.* net.

THE thirteenth century in Ireland was a century of transition, when those forces which were to influence the course of events for many succeeding centuries gradually took shape. A certain obscurity hangs over it, for no contemporary wove its story into a consecutive tale. But, though sadly neglected by subsequent Irish historians, it is by no means devoid of interest, and the new

material now available makes an intelligible history of it possible. No one is in a way better fitted than Mr. Orpen for the task of collecting and arranging this dry and uninviting material, for he has made the Norman period his special study for many a long year.

These two volumes, the third and the fourth of the series, consists of a number of essays on the progress of the Norman invaders from 1216 to 1333. They are rather preliminary historical studies than a history of Ireland properly so-called. The author, as the title of the book shows, is more concerned with the Normans than with the Irish ; and so, though what he has done has been thoroughly done, other and no less important aspects of the history of that time do not receive the attention they deserve. In the earlier sections he studies in great detail the lands granted by the King of England to the adventurers ; he recounts the history of their occupation and defines the limits of the seigniories established by the end of the thirteenth century. When it is considered that nearly the whole of Ireland was thus marked out for confiscation, and that during the century the grantees never ceased their attempts to carry the confiscation through, it is easy to see that these careful studies of Mr. Orpen are of supreme utility to the historian of the period. In the last three sections on Bruce's invasion (1315-18), in what he calls " The Ebbing Tide " (1318-33), and in his review of " 160 Years of Norman Rule " (1173-1333) the treatment is less archæological and more historical. He investigates the causes at work ; and though many will disagree with his conclusions, he defends them not without ability.

But neither Mr. Orpen's ability nor his admiration for the invaders has succeeded in imparting a living human interest to what is little else than a dreary catalogue of murder and fraud, spoliation and chicane, disguised in the legal phraseology of a semi-civilised feudalism. The general dulness might have been to a great extent dispelled, had the author taken a wider view of his subject, or had his sympathies lain with those who kept up during that whole period a long and desperate struggle to maintain or regain their independence against successive hordes of invaders. There alone could he have found those high and noble motives to which the human heart will always respond despite the lapse of time. But viewed from the author's standpoint, the material could hardly be anything but dull and deadening.

His thesis is that " Anglo-Norman rule in Ireland throughout the thirteenth century was an all-pervading force introducing new ideas—political, social, economical and moral—which were all in the direction of what humanity regards as civilization and

progress," and that the year 1333 was the close of "a century and a half of remarkable progress, vigour, and comparative order."

Among the specific advantages that accrued to Ireland from Anglo-Norman rule are enumerated: peace and an improved system of civil government, legislative, executive and judicial; a great increase in the wealth of the Church, the raising of its status and the securing of important immunities to the clergy; closer contact with the art and thought and life of Europe; an advance in agriculture, arts and crafts, and the growth of towns and of inland and foreign trade.

If this be true, those who lived in those times must have been wofully blind and perverse not to recognise their happiness, and it would be necessary, as Mr. Orpen believes, to rewrite the whole of Irish history. But behind this glowing picture lies an untold tale of barbarous repression and spoliation, the enslavement of a people, the oppression of the Church, and a lamentable decline of morality.

As a specimen of Anglo-Norman civilization at work, take the following extract from the Remonstrance of the Princes and People of Ireland to Pope John XXII, 1318:—

> If an Englishman killed an Irishman treacherously, as often happened, no matter who the Irishman was, noble or innocent, cleric or lay, regular or secular, even if it were an Irish bishop who was murdered, this crime was never punished by the English Courts. On the contrary the nobler and holier the victim, the more the murderer was honoured and rewarded by the English, not by the common people only, but also by the English religious and bishops, and especially by those whose duty it was to punish such criminals.[1]

This, no doubt, Mr. Orpen would consider a decided improvment in the judicial section of civil government, a remarkable advance in civilization from the stage of "Celtic tribalism." But the judgment of foreign contemporaries was different. We can read in the letters of the Popes of the thirteenth century what they thought of the laws and customs of the English in Ireland. They are unbiased witnesses; they were far removed from the scene of conflict; they had opportunities of hearing both sides of the case, and they were not likely to offend without good cause the King of England, whose aid they often required to keep France and the Empire in check. Innocent III denounces the laws against the Irish as "laws at variance with all equity, whether of natural or written law" (27th May, 1205). Honorius III speaks of their "wicked oppression" (29th Oct., 1219), their "presumptuous and

[1] Cf. Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, vol. II., pp. 908 and sq.

iniquitous abuses" (6th Aug., 1220), their "corrupt and perverse customs" (8th Aug., 1220), and their "presumptuous and iniquitous statutes" (9th May, 1224). Innocent IV stigmatises their customs as "abominable customs, pernicious corruptions of morality" (20th July, 1252). Alexander IV speaks of "the detestable corruption and depravity existing among the powerful Englishmen who inhabit Ireland" (28th Jan., 1256), and Clement IV condemns their "damnable presumption not free from the leaven of heretical pravity" (29th Feb., 1268).

Then we are told "the wealth of the Church was increased, its status raised, and important immunities secured to the clergy." The way the English had of increasing the wealth of the Church was just as strange as the way they improved the administration of justice. The lands of the Church were invaded, some cathedrals were deprived of half their possessions, and church revenues were under various pretexts diverted from their purposes. During vacancies the temporalia of the sees were seized by the English kings, and these vacancies were prolonged for months and sometimes for years, to the great gain of the English king and to the great loss of religion. A glaring example of this sacrilegious practice occurred during the vacancy of the See of Dublin between 1271 and 1279. Revenues of that See to the amount of £1,300 a year were seized by the English king. This makes a total of more than £10,000 for the period of the vacancy, which means that a sum equivalent to at least £250,000 of our present money was diverted from works of religion, charity, and education in the diocese of Dublin and swept into the English exchequer. That was certainly a strange way of increasing the wealth of the Church, or promoting religion in the diocese of Dublin. The same policy was pursued in every diocese of Ireland to which the power of the English king extended. Every imaginable method that feudal chicanery could devise was employed to spoil the inheritance of the poor. Exorbitant fees were exacted at the consecration of new bishops; heavy fines were arbitrarily imposed on prelates who dared to resist the tyrant's will; Crusade funds were used to finance political wars at home; ecclesiastical pluralism and absenteeism were rampant, both often combined in the same person.

"The status of the Church was raised." Again we should like to know how. During the century preceding the invasion of the Normans the Irish Church was still the fruitful mother of saints. Illustrious bishops like Ceallach (†1129), Maelmodhog O Morgair (†1148), Gilla mac Liag (†1173), Conchobhair mac Concoille (†1176) and Lorcan O Tuathail (†1180) were honoured for their

sanctity as much on the Continent of Europe as at home. With the advent of Norman *Kultur*, the roll of Saints, never interrupted in Ireland since the introduction of Christianity, comes abruptly to an end. And this we are asked to accept as the progress of religion and a raising of the status of the Church.

How could religion advance when appointments in the Church were made with a view to political interest, when the richest benefices were assigned to foreign clerics, many of them men of dissolute life, all of them ignorant of the language of their flocks? The mercenaries waxed fat, but the hungering sheep were not fed.

Not even the subservience of these Norman prelates could prevent the kings of England from encroaching persistently upon the liberties enjoyed by the Irish Church before the invasion. The persons of ecclesiastics were no more respected than their goods. Bishops and prelates were cited, arrested, seized and imprisoned, if they prized religion or morality higher than the selfish caprices of a tyrant. The independence they had enjoyed in the days of "Celtic tribalism" vanished little by little, until even the memory of it became a thing of the past, and the guardians of the Church were reduced by outrageous injuries to such a state of servile fear that they did not even dare to complain of their oppression to the Pope. "Tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus graviter est delapsa," such is the continually recurring description in the official reports forwarded to Rome of the havoc wrought by the invader in the religious life of diocese after diocese of Ireland, even of the richest—for instance, Cashel (1238), Lismore (1246), Meath (1254), etc. Yet where those who were most capable of judging saw ruin and desolation, Mr. Orpen sees cheerful progress. The truth is he judges the progress of the Church from a thoroughly unchristian standpoint. To him the Church is but a function of the State. Its supernatural vocation he can neither understand nor appreciate. The more slavishly the Church serves the temporal and political ends of the State, the more perfectly it is fulfilling its purpose, just as the wealth of the Church is measured by the amount of money the State embezzles from it. This inability to view the Christian religion from the Christian standpoint is strikingly exemplified in his treatment of monasticism. Monasticism is a natural consequence of Christians taking to heart the words of Our Saviour: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast and give to the poor, and come follow me." Such was the ideal of perfection which Christ Our Lord put before all Christians. But Mr. Orpen knows better. He knows that "monasticism may be justly regarded as a false ideal for human activity" (iv. 291).

"It has been my aim," says Mr. Orpen, "to examine the Anglo-Norman period from a mediæval standpoint, and not to allow any modern political nostrum to colour the presentation of the picture drawn." The aim was laudable, but it has not been realized. He adopts the Anglo-Norman standpoint throughout his work, to the exclusion of all others. But the Irish standpoint was just as mediæval as the Anglo-Norman, and the Christian standpoint was more mediæval than the Erastian. He misrepresents the Irish state-system, which he calls "Celtic tribalism," and disparages the patriotism which reasserts itself in spite of defeat. It would be hard to crowd more errors into a few lines than he has succeeded in doing in these words :—

> The idea of the State was unknown [in Ireland before the invasion of the Normans] and with it the conception of crime as an offence against the community. There was no machinery for making new laws, and the ancient customary laws expounded by the Brehons . . . had no effective sanction. There was nothing but public opinion, the popular boycott, to compel the offender to submit to the arbitration of a Brehon.

But still Mr. Orpen has succeeded in doing so when he writes :—

> It is noteworthy that throughout the whole historical period, and so far as we can see, even in the penumbral age before the dawn of authenticated history, the peoples of Ulster, broadly speaking, kept very much to themselves, and except on rare occasions interfered but seldom with the rest of Ireland.

What is to be thought of such a statement as that, seeing that it was the North of Ireland that supplied, with few exceptions, the throne of Ireland with its monarchs during the historical period, and that the head authority of the Church in Ireland has resided without interruption in the very heart of Ulster from the introduction of Christianity down to the present day ?

We are, of course, treated again to the old rigmarole of the defects of the Celtic temperament, "ever looking backward on a supposed golden age in the past, while paying little heed to the actual conditions of the life of the day and making the best of them"; and in order "not to allow any modern political nostrum to colour the presentation of the picture drawn," Mr. Orpen informs us that "the real remedy for this as for the turbulence of the Irish was a more effective machinery for preserving order . . . ."

Thus Mr. Orpen writes when he strives to divest himself of modern prejudices ; and from it the reader is left to imagine what he would have written, had he let himself go.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By James MacKinnon, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

Vol. I. *From the Earliest Times to the Union.* (Blackie. 1920. 9*s.* net).

Vol. II. *From the Union to the Present Time.* (Longmans. 1921. 16*s.* net).

THESE two volumes, though produced by different publishers, really constitute one book, and should be read together. Their common title is somewhat misleading inasmuch as it suggests that the subject treated is a good deal narrower than it actually is. The work contains not only an exhaustive historical account of the development of Scottish agriculture and manufactures, but also several quite excellent chapters devoted to Scottish religion, education, literature and art in each century. Nor is the work purely historical, as the title would suggest. On the contrary, the larger part of the second volume is composed of a very able survey of Scotland to-day. Indeed, much though we admire the historical chapters, for which we have nothing but praise, we are of opinion that the survey of contemporary Scotland is the most valuable and original part of the whole work.

Dr. MacKinnon is no crank; he is not concerned to prove any thesis or to make any case; his survey of the religious, cultural, and economic conditions of his country is consequently free from bias and distortion, and, though objective, is rescued from aridity by reason of the author's sense of proportion and pleasing style. The statistics are the latest available, and the information is fully up-to-date. Dr. MacKinnon has thus performed a service for Scotland similar to that performed for Ireland by Monsieur Paul-Dubois, with the additional advantage that it is accompanied by a well-informed and authoritative historical introduction.

The most striking feature of Scotland at the present day is its industrial prosperity, and Irish readers will naturally pause to consider why Scotland has benefited so greatly from the English connection which has proved so detrimental to Ireland. The population figures of the two countries since 1800 present a remarkable contrast; while the population of Ireland has remained stationary, that of Scotland has increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions. The answer to the serious problem suggested by these figures is to be found in a study of the political history of the two countries. Previous to the parliamentary union in 1707, Scottish trade and industry had been the object of English jealousy and hostility, which was in no way mitigated by the regal union of 1603. The Stuarts were naturally anxious to encourage the prosperity of

Scotland, but every attempt to persuade the English parliament to relax any of its measures directed to restrain Scottish competition resulted in a failure. Thus, in 1607 the English parliament refused to abolish all commercial distinctions between England and Scotland ; and, after the Restoration, Scottish commerce was harassed by the Navigation Acts and high English import duties.

During the whole Stuart period, therefore, Scottish trade and industry fared no better than Irish in the hands of the English parliament, in spite of the union of the crowns of the three countries. The results of English hostility were, however, not equally serious in the two countries, because Scotland possessed an independent legislature which was able to provide compensating encouragement for Scottish traders, whereas every attempt by the Irish parliament to encourage Irish industry was liable to be frustrated by the provisions of Poyning's Law. Thus we find that the Scottish parliament passed a long series of protective and encouraging statutes in the reigns of Charles II. and William III. It is interesting to contrast the aid which the Scottish manufacturer received from his parliament in the ten years following the Revolution with the treatment meted to the Irish manufacturer by the Irish parliament during the same period.

While the hostile attitude of the English parliament did not succeed in completely ruining the Scottish trader, it did succeed in making him feel uncomfortable, and anxious that it should cease. We consequently find that public opinion in Scotland in the beginning of the eighteenth century was strongly in favour of a commercial union with England. The price which England demanded for this concession was the same as that demanded of Ireland by Pitt at the time of the Commercial Propositions, namely, the sacrifice of political independence. The union, as Dr. MacKinnon clearly shows, was not productive of any immediate benefit to Scotland, and the Scottish people bitterly regretted that they had paid such a big price for such a hollow gain ; but the tide turned in the later years of the eighteenth century, and it is unquestionable that Scotland would not have derived the full benefit of the industrial revolution had she not been united with England.

Why, we are tempted to inquire, was it that the Anglo-Irish union was not productive of equally good results to the weaker partner ? The answer is that the Irish union came too late to be of any commercial advantage to Ireland. At the time of the Scottish union, a large section of Irish public opinion was in favour of union with England on the ground that only a union would relieve Ireland of the burden of commercial restrictions ; and, if

a union had come about at that time, there is no doubt that Ireland would have been spared much of the poverty and distress that darkened the country throughout the eighteenth century. When the union actually came in 1800, the whole circumstances of the two countries had changed. England had been placed in an impregnable position of commercial strength by means of the very policy by which Ireland had been crippled and impoverished; and the removal of all restraints on the commerce between the two countries simply meant that the industries of the less developed were exposed to the competition of the more developed. Scotland, on the other hand, had been united with England during the very period in which the latter was climbing to her position of industrial supremacy. The difference in date between the two unions led to the result that, while Scotland was a partner in England's expansion, Ireland was its victim.

Dr. MacKinnon's book is full of interest for Irish readers, and we hope that it will have an extensive circulation in this country. The only matter which is omitted, to which we think that some reference might have been made, is the Irish immigration into the south-west of Scotland in the early years of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that the Irish immigrants, by reason of the mobile and constant supply of cheap labour that they afforded, greatly helped in the building up of the industrial prosperity of Lanarkshire. Another class of Irish labour which has been conspicuous in Scotland for over a century is that of the spalpeens or migrant harvesters, whose help is invaluable to the Scottish farmers at the busiest season of the year. Nor is any reference made in the chapters devoted to ecclesiastical matters to the growing importance of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Principally owing to the presence of the Irish immigrants and their descendants, the Catholic population of Scotland is now very large; indeed, the Archdiocese of Glasgow is said to contain more Catholics than any other diocese in the British Empire. However, these are but small matters, and they do not in any sense constitute a blemish on a work which has been the source of much instruction and entertainment to at least one Irish reader. G. O'B.

DER NATIONALISMUS IM LEBEN DER DRITTEN REPUBLIK. Edited by Joachim Kühn. Berlin: Paetel. 1920. M.30.

SEEKERS after truth are but too well acquainted with the depressing character of war-literature. In the heat of the struggle patriotism

and veracity seemed to have developed incompatibility of temperament. In this respect German savants were probably but little behind their English and French colleagues—but, happily perhaps for their reputation with us, their works did not find the same circulation here. We shall indeed be lucky if the calmer times of peace gradually brings back some at least of that outward deference to truth of which the later nineteenth century made boast.

Allowance made for the avowedly polemical purpose of the volume before us, it shows much less tendency to trifle with facts and indulge in gross misrepresentation than most of the War literature with which we are acquainted. It deals with the character and development of French nationalism since the Franco-German War of 1870. The connection of this spirit with various aspects of French life and thought is treated by a number of specialists. In the introductory and final chapters respectively, the editor sketches the history of the *revanche* idea in the politics of France both before and after the Great War. So far as the period before 1914 is concerned its precise place and importance in French political life in comparison with other forces are not shown—and yet this comparative demonstration is what would give most valuable information. There is an inevitable tendency on the part of both author and reader to transfer back to the pre-war period the intensity of feeling on this point which followed on the outbreak of hostilities. After 1914, as is clear from the concluding chapter, the *revanche* idea tends to be absorbed in the policy of the "Natural Boundaries." Here, as (*mutatis mutandis*) in the case of England, the reader acquainted with history will be struck with the steadfastness and unity which, through centuries, foreign policy has shown—however much the catchcries and apologetic principles may have varied. Indeed even in these last France has displayed much less hesitancy or inconsistency than her Ally—possibly she has had a clearer grasp of the principles that underlie her civilisation.

Hermann Platz had a difficult but very attractive problem in the chapter on "Nationalism in French Thought in the Pre-war Period." But apart from an exposition of the views of some of the leading nationalists among the "intelligenzia," his essay, though ambitious, is disappointing. There is really no attempt to show what would seem to be his main thesis, the relation of recent French philosophy and the *revanche*. The subject is undoubtedly difficult, but even so the treatment is unnecessarily obscure.

Hermann Grüber on Freemasonry and Ottfried Eberz on the "Gallican" Church as instruments of the *revanche* are restrained

enough, but can hardly be said to approach the demonstration of their case. The former is unnecessarily confusing in his method of exposition, and the latter does not always seem to distinguish between patriotism and Chauvinism. Indeed all the contributors seem to err in this respect and any effort to develop the love of country seems, by implication at all events, to call forth condemnation, on the unproved assumption that the only outlet of a stimulated French patriotism must be a *revanche* war. This lack of demonstrative force afflicts even the excellent, well-balanced and impartial article by Wolfgang Windelband on French Historiography. Though as history it compares very favourably with similar allied treatment of German historians, it is poor polemics. It is not shown that the efforts of French historians to promote love of France led them to tamper with truth, and the connection of their patriotism with the *revanche* simply seems taken for granted to bring the essay into line with the general purpose of the book. The articles dealing with the Popular Stage, Polite Literature, the School, and Military Literature naturally provide their authors with an easier task.

To trace the variety of character assumed by the spirit of nationalism among the different peoples, and the variety of expression it has found according to the changing circumstances would be a very instructive, if an extremely difficult undertaking. The present volume is too onesidedly devoted to the *revanche* problem, and too ready to force all manifestations of patriotism into this procrustean bed to be satisfactory even for the France of the last half century. When the authors forget this imposed task, they have much to say that the reader will find entertaining and stimulating. J. M. O'Sullivan.

Studies in Literature.

HISTOIRE DE LA LITTERATURE LATINE CHRETIENNE. Par Pierre de Labriolle. Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres." 1920. viii + 741 pp. 20 fr.

It is significant of the interest evinced in early Christianity among studious circles in France that this excellent work on the history of Latin Christian Literature appears in the new series *Collection d'études anciennes* amid editions of pagan classical authors like Plato, Lucretius and Juvenal. Long ignored by classical scholars as beyond or beneath their scope, Christian Literature is with the dawn of a more enlightened scholarship gradually coming to its

own. The new Religion, which to the end of the second century A.D. employed Greek as its sole organ of expression even in the churches of Gaul and Italy, imparted after that date a new depth and ardour to the already decrepit language and literature of Rome. Beginning, as profane Latin literature had done, with translations—translations in this instance of the Bible, which were to form the basis of St. Jerome's *Vulgate*—it soon became the vehicle of universal Western Christian thought. Not merely as representatives of a new *Weltanschauung*, but even as literary stylists, a Tertullian, Cyprian or Lactantius (not to speak of the writers of the golden age of Christian Latin literature) have a far other value than a Fronto, Apuleius or Aulus Gellius. What was best in classical paganism was adopted by the Christian apologists and Fathers of the East and West, not however without a challenge. But when once the crisis was passed, Graeco-Roman culture was permanently secured by the Church for European civilisation.

Few modern scholars were better qualified than M. de Labriolle to undertake a complete history of Latin Christian literature from its inception to the threshold of the Middle Ages. Author already of several monographs on the history of this period, editor of the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* during its all too brief tenure of life (1911-1914), he has for many years as Professor of classical literature introduced his students to this long-neglected field of research. The present work more than fulfils expectations. Written in an extremely readable style, it opens up to the student in clear-cut periods the vast literary world of Christian Latin thought, affording as well new perspectives and horizons to those already familiar with the ground.

In an introductory chapter M. de Labriolle sketches (*inter alia*) the interesting problem of the relations of Graeco-Roman culture to nascent Christianity and the final solution of this problem, so momentous for European civilisation. We miss a reference to the monograph of J. Stiglmayr, S.J.: *Kirchenväter und Klassizismus* (*Ergänzungsheft* 114 (1913) of the Laacher *Stimmen*). In the first Book, entitled *Les origines*, the author gives a lucid account of the literary character of the first versions of the Latin Bible and the first Christian Latin writers, amid whom the giant figure of Tertullian, the father of Latin Christian Literature, stands out in bold and tragic relief. His sketch of this *génie tourmenté* is very sympathetic and full; but it is not satisfactory to refer the reader for the bibliography to the author's *La Crise Montaniste*. In Book II. the great literary representatives of the pre-Constantine period (to the Peace of the Church 313)—Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Novatian,

Commodian, Arnobius and Lactantius—defile before the reader. This period represents every variety of Christian Apologetics. The *Octavius* of M. Felix M. de Labriolle postdates to Tertullian's *Apologeticus* (197 A.D.), offering a fairly convincing internal argument from the character of his talent, which deserves to be weighed (pp. 174-5). On St. Cyprian and *les idées directrices de sa pensée* the author has many illuminating things to say. On the vexed question of his attitude to the Roman primacy he examines Koch's penetrating study in *Texte und Untersuchungen xxxv.*, delaying also perhaps too long on the question of the *Lapsi* during the Decian persecution (à propos of p. 198 n. 2, there are now, since the publication of Vol. xii. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, twenty-*six* original *Libelli* documents recovered from Egypt).

After the Edict of Milan 313 A.D. begins the golden age of Christian Latin Literature (Book III.)—an age too of internecine struggle in the Church, which saw a vast literature evoked by dogmatic struggles and the Arian, Donatist, Manichean and Pelagian heresies. In this period occur the great names of St. Hilary of Poitiers, the first Doctor of the Latin Church (whose famous words *sanctiores aures plebis quam corda sunt sacerdotum* refer to the Christian flock preyed upon by the Arian Bishops the "Anti-christs"), and of SS. Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine. Latin Christian poetry of the 4th and 5th centuries is well-treated too from Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose down through the work of Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, Sedulius, to the troubadour St. Fortunatus, the last representative of Latin poetry before the Middle Ages—the author of *Pange Lingua*, *Vexilla Regis*, and *Quem terra pontus aethera* (a hymn addressed to the Blessed Virgin, not mentioned by M. de Labriolle, who should have given the circumstances in the composition of these well-known church hymns).

Our *Histoire* brings us down to Boethius, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours and Isidore of Seville (†636), though St. Gregory the Great (†604) is omitted as probably beyond the scope of the work. St. Peter Chrysologus is quite inadequately treated in two lines of a footnote (p. 565). We miss all mention of St. Maximus of Turin and the large literature attributed to him. There is no reference to St. Patrick and his short but important Latin literary remains: the *Confessio* at least, which forms a rare enough *genre* in Latin literature, calls for notice.

This recital of a few names gives no indication of the vast riches accumulated in this book of 700 short pages. M. de Labriolle is inimitable in his peopling of the historical background, in reconstructing the social and religious *milieu* which influenced or

occasioned this great Christian literature. But in places he devotes too much space to this historical genesis, which prevents him from giving a full and complete idea of the thought of these great writers of the Christian past. We could wish too to see a much more copious illustration from this literature, preferably in Latin.

We may quote the author's concluding words, which our Professors of Classics would do well to take to heart: "Du jour où notre Enseignement supérieur fera une part plus généreuse à quelques-unes de leurs oeuvres maîtresses, la recherche scientifique s'orientera de nouveau vers les études patristiques, et nous serons en voie de reconquérir dans ce domaine l'ancienne hégémonie dont une longue incuriosité nous a dépossédés." J. J. C.

THE REALM OF POETRY. An Introduction by Stephen J. Brown, S.J. London: Harrap. 1921. 5*s.* net.

LITERATURE, whose soul is poetry, is the only art for which modern methods of education have found any adequate place. That it should be taught as an art and not as a more or less exact science is the underlying appeal in *The Realm of Poetry.* Masters and pupils will give the author their hearty sympathy in his attack on a system which professes to make boys and girls love and understand poetry by forcing them to memorize, not only vast tracts of verse, but a formidable bulk of erudite notes on etymology, grammar and scansion. As a substitute for this cruel yoke, imposed in so many cases by inspectors and examining bodies, the author proposes a serious attempt to concentrate on the poem itself, and would have it read aloud to the class and explained to them by a teacher, who should be able to interpret sympathetically and directly the appeal of sound and sense in the verse to his pupils. While deploring, as we have said, the introduction of a whole camp-following of "learned trivialities" or abstruse researches into literary "tendencies and influences" and the like, the author clearly perceives the necessity of supplementing our study of the poem by a study of the poet himself, his personality and environment. Without a knowledge of the circumstances in which, let us say, "Sister Songs" or "Sonnets from the Portuguese" were written, it is obviously impossible to value them properly. A good biography is, the author hints, the most useful reinforcement to the full understanding of a poem.

While the portions of the book which are concerned with the practical handling of poetry, so as to make it attractive and inspiring

for beginners, whether in the classroom or out of it, are perhaps the most valuable, the earlier parts of the work, which aim rather at giving the teacher and the more mature reader in general a philosophic basis for the study of good poetry, are scarcely less important. The author has not been content to rest a mere devotee but is an apostle convinced of the need to spread the cult of this gracious and noble art, fired with a desire to rescue its pursuit from sordid and interested motives. The claims he makes for his subject are large, sometimes perhaps too large, as when he asserts it has a peculiar and special connection with religion, but on the whole his case is put with praiseworthy moderation. It is a pity, therefore, that his appeal, like that of so many modern missionaries, will scarcely reach the audience to whom it is expressly addressed. For "the hard practical men who cannot see any use in poetry" would surely confess their errors, if only they could be induced to study, as they assuredly will not, this eloquent call to better things. In the meantime, lovers of poetry will find the author's conclusions stated with a form and clarity of division worthy of the best American scholarship; while those who are not already acquainted with Fr. Brown's conscientious method of work will be pleasantly surprised at the completeness of his study of the most up-to-date and authoritative modern writers on the subject. M. B.

MAIN CURRENTS OF SPANISH LITERATURE. By J. D. M. Ford (Harvard). London: Constable. 1921. 15*s*.

This book represents a series of eight lectures delivered by the author before audiences partly academic, partly popular. The reader may therefore expect to find it instructive and easily readable, and he will not be disappointed. One of its attractions is the numerous literary illustrations, these being always good translations (new or old) from well-chosen originals. The lecture form provides variety and averts lengthiness. At the same time it has some disadvantages which are here not wholly overcome. It prevents one's seeing, for example, the unity which to a marked degree pervades Spanish literature. For undoubtedly there runs through that noble literature a vein of a certain romanticism (let the much-abused word here stand!) which it is interesting to trace under the guidance of an authority such as (for example) Menendez Pelayo. We are here presented with separate sections rather than with a self-unfolding unity. It was inevitable, too, that some individual

glories should be presented from a somewhat narrow angle. This has really been the case with, for example, Luis de Leon. Among writers more adequately treated, however, we are pleased to find one whose pioneer work has not always been duly recognised. "Fernan Caballero" is justly put forward as the initiator of the Spanish novel of regional manners—a *genre* which has since so fully developed in the hands of Pereda, Galdos and others. It is odd that such a writer should be hardly Spanish at all by blood. Cecilia Bohl von Faber, who styled herself "Fernan Caballero," was partly of German, partly of Irish origin.

Mr. Ford is on the whole a very safe guide to one who enters as a novice on the study of Spanish literature. He does not indulge in showy verbiage. We say this because we have just read the following—and more like it—in a competitive work on the same subject: "As a man he was ardent and austere, incautious but wary . . . reticent, having in a supreme degree . . . the impulse towards self-expression"! Such, we repeat, is *not* Mr. Ford's style as a biographer. G. O'N.

Philosophy.

LA FILOSOFIA DI BENEDETTO CROCE. By Emilio Chiocchetti. Second Ed., revised and enlarged. Milano: Vita e Pensiero. 1920. Pp. 341. L. 10.75.

HEGELIANISM, long since discredited in its own country and lately on the wane in Great Britain, is now blossoming afresh in Italy. The revival links on to the tradition of the University of Naples, where, in the sixties, Vera and Spaventa lectured on Hegel—the former a slavish expounder, the latter a critical admirer. The new movement has shed most of the original shell, and retains only the central, general ideas of Hegel's philosophy. These it works out anew into a system, not indeed as encyclopædic as that of Hegel, but surpassing it in accuracy of learning, and especially in a freshness of style and view which bids fair to make it a rival of Bergson. The genius of this movement is Benedetto Croce.

Considering that "Italy is full of the name of Croce," and that "whoever treats of any important problem in æsthetics, logic, law, ethics, or literary criticism, etc., must reckon with Croce," Signor Chiocchetti has written this account of his system, especially in order to make it known to the friends of Neo-Scholastic philosophy, so that understanding it they may be able more effectively to criticize it.

The author knows his subject thoroughly, and his exposition is admirably lucid and full. We are shown the stages which led up to Croce ; and the different parts of the " System of the Spirit " are explained in detail. He is diametrically opposed to Croce on fundamental principles—especially to his doctrine of immanence and of the relation of religion to philosophy. In a lengthy Introduction he states and defends his own position, which seems a fusion of Scholasticism with certain elements of Rosmini ; and shows that from it most of what is of value in Croce's system is accounted for, without Croce's Hegelian presuppositions. He is particularly convinced of this in regard to the æsthetic, which is the central and the most interesting part of the system. The third volume of the Philosophy of the Spirit, dealing with Ethics, is enthusiastically praised for " the calm and sublime sense of the problems of human life that pervades it," the chapters on volition and the passions, habits, individuality, temperament, character, vocation, are singled out : " here one will find a warmth of inspiration such as we experience on reading some dialogue of Plato or some chapter in St. Augustine's *Confessions*." Here again the pity is that Croce's philosophy, with its denial of liberty and of a transcendent God, provides no basis for such lofty Ethics.

In a final note the " Idealismo attuale " of Giovanni Gentile and De Ruggiero, and its relation to Croce, are discussed.

J. Shine.

ETHICA GENERALIS. ETHICA SPECIALIS. Auctore J. Donat, S.J. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1920-21. Pages 228, 303. Price M. 20 and 48.

The first six volumes of Father Donat's *Summa Philosophiae Christianae* have met with widespread appreciation on account of their precision, scholarship and critical independence. The last two volumes, on General and Special Ethics, have now been issued ; but they are without an index, as the published index covers only the previous volumes. Dr. Donat's Ethics is marked by the same qualities as distinguished his precious works. He traverses the customary ground, perhaps even a little more ; his treatment, however, is fresh and original. He is careful to deal with the living issues of contemporary thought. Whether he touches on historical, ethnological or social problems, he shows himself well versed in the relevant German, and even English, literature. This latest formulation of Scholastic Ethics can, therefore, be strongly recom-

mended as a very clear erudite exposition of old principles in their bearing on modern theories and problems.

There are a few topics, particularly those involving a knowledge of the historical development of Scholasticism, of which the author's treatment does not seem to be quite so accurate or helpful. For instance, it is extremely difficult to discover what exactly he holds to be the intrinsic criterion of moral good. In the Special Ethics the author's general attitude is rather disconcertingly rigid and conservative, especially when one contrasts the views of Father Heinrich Pesch, S.J. (whose "Christian Socialism" and "Solidarism" surely deserved mention) and of the new Centre Party, and when one remembers that in Dr. Donat's own country, Austria, the Catholic majority consists of "Christian Socialists." In dealing with the origin of civil authority, the meaning of *ius gentium*, and private property, Dr. Donat makes many assertions concerning the teaching of Scholastics which have already been refuted by the present reviewer in the pages of this periodical. A. O'R.

Poetry.

IRISH POETS OF TO-DAY. An Anthology compiled by L. D'O. Walters. London: Fisher Unwin. 1921. 8*s.* 6*d.*

OF the making of anthologies there is no end, and one is told that there is always room for the anthology. At the moment one wonders if there is room for another Irish anthology published in England and presumably meant to circulate in England. Anyhow Mr. D'O. Walters has accomplished an Irish anthology in a fine spirit of optimism and has found an English publisher in Mr. Fisher Unwin, who is, however, so old and faithful a friend of Ireland that he must stand in a different category from the ordinary Englishman, publisher or otherwise. Presumably the maker of a really good Irish anthology might do Ireland as great a service as any man who made or reformed her laws. There could be no such apologia for a people as the expression of that people's mind and heart, and in Ireland, of all countries, the heart of the people is revealed in its poetry. Therefore there are certain qualities, the formal, the academic, the trivial, the commonplace, even though accomplished, of which Irish poetry can be less tolerant than the poetry of a more prosperous people.

And yet the curious thing is that the Irish themselves, so sensitive to poetry, have continued to accept as poetry something which they value as patriotism or idealism or something else. Seeing

what a clever people the Irish are, it must be a generous shutting of the eyes that makes them so uncritical. I can remember the time when it was an offence, a crime almost, to doubt the poetry of the '48 men, just as in our own time it would be unforgiveable to doubt the inspiration of Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Plunkett. In Ireland one has to be old or cold, or very insensitive to the opinion of others to be critical. These loyal conventions are hung round the neck of the anthologist who would make a book of Irish poetry for Irish people, and he must be very sure as well as very courageous to run counter to them. Perhaps Mr. D'O. Walters was not very sure and so had not need of his courage, for the newest anthology contains a good deal that will hardly stand the test of time, even in a limited sense. I hope my young countrymen and women will not rend me if I say that I have read more beautiful poetry in various Sinn Fein papers since 1916, many more beautiful poems, than those over which such a glamour lies to-day as to prevent all exercise of the critical faculty. I should ask no better task to be done for Ireland and Literature than to make a new anthology of the Sinn Fein poetry—poetry which is essential and only finds its occasion in the political movement. I doubt that patriotism or love or death ever made a poet, though it may have struck his lips to singing. The essential poet had to be there first.

It must be conceded, and conceded gladly, that there are many beautiful and precious things in Mr. Walters' anthology. If he has been too inclusive he has yet the nucleus without which no Irish anthology could exist. There is Yeats, and A.E., and Padraic Colum, and Seamus O'Sullivan, and James Stephens, and Herbert Trench, with many others one would desire to keep, although there are some one would wish away to make room for Alice Milligan, and John Todhunter, and Emily Lawless. The two or three, or four poems Mr. Walker allots to his poets might be reduced to one in many cases, and if Patrick Chalmers and Winifred Letts, and Isabel Hume, and James Cousins, and Patrick McGill, and H. L. Doak, and Darrell Figgis, why not Rosa Mulholland, and Count Plunkett, and Ethna Carbery, and Alice Furlong? Or for the matter of that James Joyce and William Dara, and many others one could name? An Anglo-Irish anthology can afford to be more comprehensive than an English one, since the volume of Anglo-Irish poetry is so much smaller; it can afford to leave more to the winnowing of Time, which in time will discount all who are not worthy or are memorable as the first drops in a shower or for some other reason. There is more chance for the Irish writer

of a place in the sun or the anthologies because there is so much more room; but the judgment that goes on behind contemporary judgment, ever winnowing and sifting, saving and discarding—will not be influenced by any of the passions and prejudices which make contemporary judgment blind. KATHARINE TYNAN.

THE TREE OF LIFE AND OTHER POEMS. By Aloysius Vincent Phillips. London: Harding and More. 1920. 3*s.* 6*d.*

FR. Phillips's muse is strongly religious and sings in tones sincere and earnest. Serious thought combines with lively fancy and euphonious diction in many pieces which may well attract to a second reading. One such poem is "The Dance of Life," of which we give the characteristic conclusion:—

Man also dances, lithe of limb,
For his morning and his evening hymn;
Be he sad or merry, the angels list
In his Frühlingslied or his Valse Triste.
In health or sickness, joy or pain,
He must dance to the beat of this refrain;
Life is a dance that ends in death;
And then another followeth.
Death is our partner in the grave
Till we a fairer fellow have
In that untiring dance of bliss
Whereof Life's dream fruition is.

There are some good sonnets, the best of which, "Day's Requiem," has a Francis-Thompsonian richness. G. O'N.

Scripture.

THE PSALMS. A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the Light of the Hebrew Text. By Rev. Patrick Boylan, M.A. Vol. I. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1920. Pp. lxix—299. 17*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE Latin version of the Psalms authorised by the Church is not a direct translation from the Hebrew by St. Jerome, but a literal translation (revised by that master scholar) of a by no means perfect Greek version of the original Hebrew. Yet it is the one book of the Old Testament which must be read through every week by every priest. Hence the need of having and utilising a really good commentary if the divine office is to be recited, not in a mechanical and perfunctory manner, but with the greatest possible pleasure and profit to the soul. Fr. Boylan has therefore earned the gratitude of English-speaking priests all the world over by supplying them at last with the first instalment of the very book they require.

The work we are reviewing is not an original commentary on the Hebrew Book of Psalms, but a thorough explanation of the Latin version in use in the Church. Though it is the fruit of much learning, it is written from a practical rather than a scientific standpoint. It begins with a general introduction, in which the various questions connected with the Psalms as a whole are treated in a manner that at once wins the reader's confidence. Then follow the psalms in regular order, each preceded by a special introduction on the date, background, general interpretation and sequence of ideas, accompanied by an English translation in parallel columns and followed by explanatory notes on the different verses.

The introduction is admirable for its clearness, erudition and sound judgment. The only thing one misses at a first glance is a translation of the decrees of the Biblical Commission on the Psalms. But a closer inspection shows that the teaching of the unmentioned decrees is fully exposed and scientifically vindicated in the section on the titles and authorship. The explanation of the differences between the Latin and Hebrew versions will be found particularly illuminating and deserves special praise. Here a query suggests itself. Why is *adeps*, "unresponsive heart" (Ps. 16, v. 11), numbered among the peculiarities of the vulgar Latin of the Psalter, when it is an exact literal rendering of the Hebrew through the Greek? The section on the poetical form of the Psalms is also very attractive and makes one regret that the author's close adherence to the Vulgate text prevented him from doing it more justice in his translation. In one of the examples given, Psalm 136, the reviewer would prefer to attach the exceedingly short third strophe to the preceding one and thus secure a more symmetrical structure—strophe, antistrophe, intervening strophe, strophe, antistrophe.

The notes appended to the different psalms are very practical and to the point, more developed naturally when the psalm is more difficult, as in the case of Psalm 67, which is very fully and admirably annotated. The frequent explanations of the differences between the versions will be found very interesting and instructive. Lists of authorities for different views and less likely interpretations are very wisely omitted. They would only unduly lengthen the commentary and are uncalled for by its practical character. It is not lengthy discussions and original views but a sound exposition and illustration of the text that the ordinary reader requires.

Fr. Boylan's translation is not a rendering of the Hebrew text, either in itself or as collated with and corrected by the other versions, but a version of the Latin Vulgate. As regards the tenses of the

verbs, he corrects the Latin after the Hebrew, and this is a distinct gain in intelligibility. He allows himself also other slight modifications after the original. The rendering of "Cum mihi molesti essent" by "when they were in grief" (Ps. 34, v. 13) gives an idea of the extent of these corrections. One is inclined to regret that Fr. Boylan did not push them a little farther, especially in cases where the Vulgate has a corrupt text which is practically untranslatable. A few examples will explain our meaning. "Et comminuet eas tanquam vitulum Libani: et dilectus quemadmodum filius unicornium" is rendered "and dasheth them headlong like the calf of Lebanon,—even if it be prized as highly as a young unicorn." "Rex virtutum dilecti dilecti: et speciei domus dividere spolia" is translated: "The king of the battle-hosts of the much-beloved (giveth) to the fair one of the house to distribute the booty." Again the translatable if incorrect "Et laborabit in aeternum. Et vivet adhuc in finem" becomes "Even if he should toil always, to live for ever." What we disagree with is the partial use of Hebrew text or Hebrew grammar to modify a corrupt Latin text when the Hebrew original is correct and clear. Would it not be better to render the whole Hebrew text of the verse in these cases? Needless to say in such instances, which are comparatively few, a full explanation is always given in the notes. And we think that Fr. Boylan, on the whole, has been singularly successful in the very difficult task of combining scientific consistency with practical utility.

The language of the translation is very elevated and poetical. In one or two cases it might be improved by retrenching the awkward "do," "I do put my trust . . . they do fly from me" (Ps. 30, 7, 12). The cost also is elevated, but for that the war must be blamed; and those who prefer to pay a high price for a good article rather than a more moderate price for an inferior one, if they buy Fr. Boylan's book, will not be likely to regret the expenditure. **E. P.**

LE LIVRE DE JÉRÉMIE. Traduction et Commentaire, par le P. Albert Condamin, S.J. Paris: Lecoffre. 1920. 24fr.

IN his treatment of the Book of Jeremias Father Condamin has followed generally the same method which he adopted in his *Livre d'Isaïe*. The Commentary is preceded by a general Introduction which deals with the life and times of Jeremias, the precise chronological order of his prophecies, the relations between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts of his Book, the theology of the prophet,

and the structural peculiarities of his poetry. The information supplied on all these points is not extensive, but it is eminently clear and scholarly. Father Condamin's suggestions as to the chronological order of the prophet's oracles (Chap. II. of Introd.) are the product of much study and reflection, and will be found most helpful. The textual problems arising out of the great differences in order and extent between the Massoretic and Septuagint texts of Jeremias have caused heart-burnings to every editor of the prophet, and no study of the Jeremian oracles would be complete without a discussion and an attempted solution of some of the most outstanding of these problems.

In Chapter III. of the Introduction Father Condamin faces the textual problem, but his aim seems to be rather to suggest good working hypotheses to the student, than to give a final and satisfactory solution of this most serious problem of Biblical Introduction. The contrast in the arrangement of the two texts is due, Father Condamin thinks, to the editorial work of the Massoretes so that the Greek text, in this respect, is more original than the Hebrew. The peculiarities of style and language of the Greek text which have enabled critics to separate that text into two distinct sections, are explained by the theory (already supported by other writers) that, prior to the appearance of the oracles of Jeremias in Greek, they were current in Hebrew in Alexandria in two separate collections. These collections were translated into Greek by translators who were unequally qualified for their work. Later the two separate collections were put together, as they stood, without fusion, to form a single book both in their Hebrew and Greek form. The Greek Jeremias thus resulting has retained its primitive order: the Massoretes, on the other hand, have changed the original arrangement by transferring the prophecies against Babylon and the Nations to the end of the Book.

The other problem—the shortness of the Greek text as compared with the Hebrew—Father Condamin discusses more briefly. It is obvious, he thinks, that there are some repetitions or doublets in the Hebrew text which are due to editorial work; but when all such artificial additions to the primitive Hebrew text have been removed, that text is still considerably fuller than the Greek. The Greek text is, then, a version of an abridged Hebrew original—but how this shortened form of the original arose Fr. Condamin does not explain.

The treatment of the metrical problems of the Book of Jeremias in Chap. V. of the Introduction explains very briefly the general theory of the strophic structure of Hebrew poetry, which is a vital feature of Fr. Condamin's exegesis.

In the Commentary proper the Hebrew text is not printed. Its place is taken, as in the author's work on Isaias, by a French version based on a critical revision of the Massoretic text. The progress of the prophet's thought throughout the Book is made plain in the version by the division of the text into sections, the contents of which are indicated by prefatory headings. The poetic passages of the version are so printed as to show forth clearly their metrical structure, as Fr. Condamin understands it. The version is accompanied by footnotes, which justify the readings on which the translation is based, and explain such points as still remain obscure in the prophet's oracles in spite of the excellence of the French version. Emendations of the Massoretic text are, of necessity, fairly frequent. They take, however, full account of all the implications of the Septuagint text, and display in full measure the sobermindedness and reserve which are characteristic of all the author's work. Each section of the translation is followed by a scholarly essay of literary and historical criticism dealing learnedly with the various problems of the section and particularly with those suggested by modern critics.

The boldness with which the author applies his metrical theories to the text of Jeremias is likely to provoke more criticism than any other feature of the book. Yet even the most sceptical of Fr. Condamin's readers will have to admit that many of the emendations and rearrangements of the prophet's text made on the basis of the author's metrical theories produce an astonishingly harmonious and satisfying result. (Compare, for instance, the reconstruction of 8^{13}-9^{21}).

Father Condamin has assimilated everything that is best in ancient and modern work on Jeremias. His attitude towards the work of other writers is, however, quite independent. Perhaps one of the best effects of his book on advanced students and teachers will be the lesson it teaches of complete independence in the face of that modern liberal criticism of Scripture which, even while it makes a great show of erudition, is often fantastic and purely subjective.

Father Condamin's new book is just such another token of his deep scholarship, literary power, and spiritual intuition as his widely known commentary on Isaias had led us to expect. Both the author and the publisher are to be congratulated warmly on this worthy addition to the *Études Bibliques.* P. BOYLAN.

Social and Economic Science.

CARLO MARX. By Francesco Olgiati. Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." 1920. 9 lire.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX. By M. Beer. Translated by T. C. Partington and H. J. Stenning. London: Leonard Parsons. 1921. 6*s*.

KARL MARX AND MODERN SOCIALISM. By F. R. Salter, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1921. 6*s*.

THE REVIVAL OF MARXISM. By J. Schield Nicholson, Sc.D., LL.D. London: Murray. 1921. 6*s*.

Karl Marx has been described as the "High Priest of the Social Revolution." The title is not undeserved. No one of the many who have striven to incite the working classes to war upon the capitalists has done as much as he to create and justify in the masses a sense of wrong and to inflame them against the class which he conceived to be their oppressors. Wherever revolutionary propaganda is active his name and his teaching are invoked to sanction revolt against the existing industrial order. His theories are assumed to provide a demonstration of the inherent iniquity of the wage system as now established; and they furnish the stock in trade of the widespread propaganda for its destruction. The life history of such a man has, and will long continue to have, a peculiar interest for the student of social science. The story has been told and retold by writers friendly and hostile, among others by those whose works are named above.

After a study of the latter the reader will be in a position to form a fair estimate of Marx—of the man and his achievements. All four prefix to their criticisms of his theories a sketch of his personal history. Herr Beer touches lightly on the incidents of his life; Mr. Salter and Professor Nicholson give us a fuller account. Signor Olgiati enters into greater detail. He draws copiously on the *Briefwechsel* in his appreciation of Marx's personal character. The result is not flattering to the subject of his study. Mr. Salter would have us regard Marx not as an "impeccable hero" nor "a worthless ruffian," but as "one who was in point of fact a very lovable, very exasperating, but essentially real, though often wrong-headed enthusiast." His "lovableness" was not clearly demonstrated in his relations with such men as Proudhon, Lassalle, and Mazzini. He contrived to make an enemy of every one who differed from him in opinion. His overbearing confidence in his own views led him to treat with contempt men of much greater ability who declined to accept them; and this attitude was not

favourable to friendliness, Engels, who during his exile provided him with an income, was perhaps the only one outside his family whom Marx could count as a friend.

Signor Olgiati's work follows Marx through the vicissitudes of his stormy life. It tells us of his childhood and school days in Trier; his studies at Berlin University, where he became imbued with the then dominant philosophy of Hegel; his entrance into the arena of socialistic controversy; his friendships and his feuds with the contemporary leaders of revolutionary thought and action; the hostility of continental governments which he drew upon himself; his retirement to England where he made his home for over thirty years and whence he launched his appeals to the proletariat of Europe and the world. The tale of his struggle with poverty during the early years of his exile, until Engels was able to allot him a competence, is in many ways pathetic, and may to some extent explain the bitterness with which he assailed the bourgeoisie, and urged the proletariat to war upon the capitalist. Marx was above all else a preacher of class hatred; the Communist Manifesto is the gospel of his creed. He was not a profound thinker, but he was an ardent propagandist; and in an appeal to those who have heavy burdens to bear ardour counts for more than thought. "Marx," says Professor Nicholson, "is the Mad Mullah of Socialists." The designation is not undeserved.

As for Marx's theories, apart from his invectives, the writers under notice have little difficulty in proving that they will not stand sober criticism. Each of these writers subjects the fundamental principles of the social and economic philosophy of Marx to a close examination which makes evident its defects. His Historical Materialism—the theory that social phenomena in every phase and form of society; man's achievements in art, literature, science; his forms of government, even his religious belief and worship derive from, and are determined by, the character of his industry, that is, the conditions in which, and the methods by which, he supplies his bodily necessities—this theory they show to be not only unproved, but untenable. As they point out, Marx is content to assert that the development of the higher culture in a people or an age is accompanied or preceded by a development of the useful arts. But he makes no attempt to prove that the material change is the cause of the cultural advance. Every one will admit that the material conditions of life do not permit the growth of schools of literature and art or of perfected forms of government among the Esquimaux; but it would need some very strenuous reasoning to prove that, if their industrial resources were

raised to the Athenian level, we might expect them to rival the glories of the age of Pericles.

Applying the principle of the Hegelian Dialectic to the Wage System, Marx held that it contained within itself the elements which would lead to its own destruction. Capital was accumulating in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of owners; the employer of limited resources was being driven from the field; the capitalistic edifice was growing top-heavy and was inexorably destined to reach a position of instability in which a slight shock would cause its downfall. This reading of the conditions of the time has been proved erroneous. The small "autonomous producer" and trader have not been eliminated, and the multiplication of joint stock companies has worked for the diffusion of the ownership of capital, as well as for its concentration.

As for the fundamental Marxian postulate that the labour bestowed on an object is the cause of its value—that value, as he would say, is "crystallised Labour"—it is so obviously false that no serious thinker would now maintain it. Things have value because people want or desire them, and their value is proportioned to the strength of the desire for them. No matter what labour has been expended on the production of an object, it will be wholly valueless if nobody wants it. The converse of Marx's famous dictum would express the real relation between Labour and Value: it is not because labour has been bestowed on an object that it has value, rather it is because the object has value that labour will be given for its production.

And so the "scientific socialism" of Marx has gone the way of many another pretentious theory. But the fruits of his propaganda remain. The fierce hostility to bourgeois capitalism which he bequeathed to his disciples still inspires fanatics to whom his name is but a symbol and his speculations a puzzle. T. A. F.

SOCIAL THEORY. By G. D. H. Cole. London: Methuen. 1920. 5*s.* net.

Mr. Cole is known as a very "advanced" Socialist as well as perhaps the most original, logical and documented social writer of the present day. Here in this book he states his political and social philosophy. We are astonished to find that this "revolutionary's" principles, though a challenge to the prevailing creed of the day, are very largely traditional Catholic principles. If one searched for heresies in Mr. Cole's book one could find plenty, as when he denies the State the right of capital punishment; but we

venture to say that Mr. Cole's errors, from the Catholic point of view, are not of the structure of his thought but rather in details. A little pruning here and there, a few saving clauses inserted, and we believe this challenging book would receive the *Nihil Obstat* of any ecclesiastical censor. Mr. Cole does not reveal in this book his ethical first principles. This is a pity; for every thinker's Politics must rest on his Ethics, as Aristotle shows us. If Mr. Cole had been forced to state his ethical postulates more definitely, he might have avoided some ambiguities which must be viewed with reserve. Mr. Cole makes the principle of the consent of the governed the sole legitmate basis of government. We ourselves do not regard this as a quite universal principle of just government, and therefore not the most fundamental principle.

From the Catholic point of view Mr. Cole renders two great services in this book. First, he demolishes the fallacies of the deterministic sociologies by insisting on the paramount importance of human will in directing social forces and arrangements; second, he attacks with shattering effect the obsession of the modern mind called the Theory of Sovereignty, which puts all liberties at the mercy of the Omnipotent State. The legal omnicompetence of a Parliament may be allowed as a lawyer's theory; but that we should assent to the political omnicompetence of a single set of legislators is only explicable if we have lost the notion of liberty. Powers of legislation, argues Mr. Cole, do not reside exclusively in the State, but are distributed in various social bodies. For instance, trade unions and not the State have the moral authority for certain departments of economic legislation. The powers of any association, says Mr. Cole, whether a State or a cricket club, depend upon its functions, and as the State's functions are limited so its powers must be.

But this book, so packed with thought, cannot be summed up in a short review. It deserves to be discussed, from the Catholic point of view, in a volume its own size. Mr. Cole's philosophical development is not completed, and it will be interesting to watch his future. H. S.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONS. A Contribution to the Philosophy of History. By G. E. Partridge. London and New York: Macmillan. 1919. $2.50.

Mr. Partridge's book is an earnest and painstaking attempt to answer the formidable question: What can we do, in the days before us, to help towards the shaping of a better world? It is,

in a phrase that has become banal, an essay in after-the-war reconstruction. It is built upon the conviction that, though the war has not presented us with a new and better world, still we need not inevitably fall back into the old, bad ways, but have it in our power to shape the future. How? Not by politics but by education, the moulding of coming generations.

Thus the contents of this book are not such as from the title some of us have expected them to be. The work is really a study of the forces, psychological and sociological, that have brought the nations to their present pass, stranded amid the confused wreckage of a ruined order of things, followed by a study of how these forces may be met and countered so as to stave off a like catastrophe from future generations.

Thus the work falls naturally into two parts. In the first the author studies the motives of war, especially in so far as they still persist in the present state of society. There are chapters on the "intoxication motive," war instincts, aesthetic elements, patriotism, nationalism and national honour, philosophical and religious influences, economic, political and historical factors.

In the Second Part the author reviews the present state of things (especially in the United States) as an educational problem. Given our circumstances, what can we do to educate the national consciousness and to imbue it with somewhat of world consciousness? He is convinced that "in a sense all questions about education must now be considered with reference to internationalism in some way." (P. 165). Accordingly two chapters are devoted to a study of the "mood" of internationalism, that is, the disposition to think of one's nation not as the be-all and the end-all but as a part of a greater whole. I suppose it could be expressed in Goldsmith's phrase—we must have the mind of "citizens of the world." Then follow chapters on the teaching of patriotism, on militarism, on political, social, industrial, religious education, and on Humanism. A brief and very miscellaneous bibliography is added.

The author is no extremist, neither chauvinist nor internationalist. He thoroughly believes in sane patriotism and nationalism, and his chapters on the education of patriotism are valuable and are sufficiently general in their scope to be applicable to any nation. Their interest, and indeed the interest of the whole book, for the shapers of the new Ireland that we are striving towards is therefore evident. S. J. B.

BRITISH WAR FINANCE. By T. J. Kiernan, M.A.
CURRENCY AND PRICES. By Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I.
London: King. 1920. 5*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

PEACE finance is causing everybody, tax-payer and Treasury official alike, so much trouble that really no one bothers very much any longer over the war finance of a few years back. Mr. Kiernan's subject has, therefore, something about it—shall we say, something historical or something ancient ?—that may make those who are not professionally interested in it, shun it. Yet his book is one that will appeal to the man who wants to know why, if England won the war, Englishmen have to pay just as heavy taxes as, in all likelihood, they would have had to pay if they had lost it. And who is there—especially if he is an Englishman—who would not like to have that question answered ? We, on this side of the Irish Sea, are in the ludicrous position of being forced to smile at the picture of our neighbour pursuing his "traditional policy of muddling through" and at same time of being forced to give him a present of £18,000,000 a year to pay for the pleasure the sight gives us.

The mention of that £18,000,000 brings us down to facts. Public finance is a subject which every citizen in a country ought to be interested in. It is not a hard subject to understand: the merest rudiments of mathematics and a knowledge of the laws of common honesty are all that is needed. Yet it would make a vast difference to a country's prosperity if all its citizens kept an intelligent watch on the management of the public finances. It is true that the practical working of a country's money matters had best be left in the hands of experts; but when it comes to important questions of policy, the public, for their own sake, ought to be able to form a sound judgment as to the most just and most expedient course to follow. Now during the war the English public had not the faintest notion of what its financial experts were doing. A few professional economists made scattered and fruitless protests against the policy that was being followed, and prophesied woes to come. These conspicuous few have now the lugubrious joy of seeing their own prophesies fulfilled.

One of the things most protested against and most prophesied about was the creation of currency in the form of "currency notes" by the Treasury. Mr. Kiernan deals with this question particularly well and in a much more scientific way than Sir Lancelot Hare. Sir Lancelot knows something, undoubtedly, about economics; but he really ought to be careful when trying to popularise the "dismal science." One shudders for the fate of

the Indian Empire when one suddenly stumbles on an *obiter dictum* like this : " Certainly it is most important not to carry on business on credit. It is most wasteful and extravagant." Shade of Walter Bagehot ! Yet all the trouble you went to to show that the man who worked on credit made 30 per cent. while the other made 10 per cent. And Sir Lancelot does not seem to have got to the root of the currency-note question, which so rightly provokes his wrath. He seems to be under the impression that the inflation of the currency can be dealt with apart from the redemption of the floating debt. But as Mr. Kiernan points out, " the notes were the result of the manner in which the Government obtained the nation's credit to finance the war." The inflation cannot be reduced until the floating debt is reduced.

Both books are very readable. Mr. Kiernan's is, perhaps, the clearest statement of the whole question of war finance that we have yet seen. It is quite evidently the result of long and arduous research, and speaks well for the standard of the National University. Sir Lancelot Hare's book is of a more popular type and, as far as it goes, good of its kind ; but, of course, another branch of political science is his *forte*. E. J. C.

Shorter Notices.

CATHOLIC FORCES. A Review of the National Catholic Congress, 1920.
THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY. By Margaret Fletcher.
THE CHURCH AND EUGENICS. Rev. Thomas J. Gerrard. Third ed. revised and enlarged. Oxford : Catholic Social Guild. 1*s.* 6*d.* net. each.

Society in England is now " post-Christian," with certain traditions of Christianity which especially in these latter years are fast dying out. The very root-principle of all the old European order, the integrity of the family, is being attacked no longer merely indirectly through an iniquitous industrialism, but openly and of set purpose in widely distributed literature and in legislation.

The books which the Catholic Social Guild of England has just brought out are therefore devoted mainly to expounding the Catholic doctrine on this fundamental point of Christian civilisation. Father Thomas Gerrard's book on *The Church and Eugenics* is a masterly criticism of the " basse-cour " view of society. The alarming spread of venereal disease, together with the development of unchristian views as to the method of dealing with it, has made the problem more complicated as well as more urgent than it was in 1912 when the book first appeared. Certain rather complex ethical problems are not touched on, such as for instance those mentioned in Mgr. Brown's article in the April issue of the *Dublin Review*. Possibly, however, this is no disadvantage, for Catholics at least. Seminary instruction taking effect through the confessional may be sufficient for some time to come.

Miss M. Fletcher's booklet on *The Christian Family* contains not merely an excellent exposition of Catholic doctrines, but a very interesting history of Christian family-life, especially in England.

Though *Catholic Forces*, the annual of the C.S.G., gives much attention to the above subject, its principal appeal is for a federation of all the Catholic organisations in England, so that they may permeate the mass of heathenism with Christian views. It is a pity that the most powerful and widespread of all lay Catholic organisations, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, seems debarred by its rules from taking a leading part in such a federation. Perhaps, however, its silent leavening will do more in the end. L. McK.

AMRITSAR AND OUR DUTY TO INDIA. By B. G. Horniman. London: Fisher Unwin. 1920. 6*s.* net.

MR. Horniman has written this book for the purpose of explaining to the British people the situation which produced the disturbances which led to the establishment of martial law in the Punjab during the Spring of 1919. He is an English journalist who has personally suffered deportation from India for his outspokenness. He describes the causes of the unrest, the Rowlatt Bills and the agitation they excited, Mr. Ghandi's passive resistance movement, and with much detail the massacre at Amritsar on April 13, 1919, when General Dyer opened fire at one hundred yards range for ten minutes on an unarmed and defenceless crowd in a walled enclosure, killing 379 and wounding 1,200. Only the narrowness of the approaches compelled him regretfully to leave his armoured cars and machine guns outside. His purpose he declared was to "strike terror into the whole of the Punjab." He may have achieved his purpose, though even on this point the evidence is conflicting, but his more permanent achievement was to sow bitter seeds of racial hatred in India. It is true that since this book was written he has been removed from the active list by the Army Council, and that according to no less a person than the Duke of Connaught "the shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the face of India"; but these very belated and mild reparations can hardly be considered sufficient. There could be no more striking condemnation of Dyerism than the fact that Mr. Harkishen Lal, who was sentenced less than two years ago to transportation for life as a rebel, is now one of His Majesty's Ministers in the Punjab under the Government of India Act.

Mr. Horniman describes also, with photographic illustrations, the various other acts of "frightfulness" which occurred throughout the Punjab, such as the bombing from aeroplanes, the crawling order, and the floggings. The book, which is now rather out of date, is diffuse in style and all the facts are not clearly given. For instance, he does not point out that only one of the Rowlatt Bills was passed, and even that one was never enforced. On the whole, however, it is an honourable attempt to bring home to the people of England their responsibility for what took place at Amritsar and their duty to the people of India. JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE CHRISTIAN MIND. By Dom A. Vonier, O.S.B. London: Herder. 1920. 5*s.* net.

THE DIVINE SOLILOQUIES OF GERLAC PETERSEN. Translated from the Latin by "Monialis." London: Longmans. 1921. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

A SHORT METHOD OF MENTAL PRAYER. By N. Ridolfi, O.P. Translated from the French by Fr. Devas, O.P. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1920. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The only common bond between these three books is the aim of all to deepen the inner life of the soul. Dom Vonier is already favourably known to our readers by his efforts in the *Personality of Christ* to stimulate "the specific Christian spirituality, which is based on the practical assimilation by our minds of the doctrine of the Incarnation." These words, borrowed from the Foreword to the present volume, describe its aim. It is an effort to cull from the epistles of St. Paul the kernel of his Christological teaching in its practical bearing on the Christian's outlook.

As the author claims, it is quite possible for a Christian to be sincere in his profession of Christianity, and yet to be singularly devoid of that peculiar mental attitude, which makes of the Christian religion an essentially personal religion as distinct from any mere philosophical code of morality: "For to me, to live is Christ." In the seventeen comparatively brief chapters, which compose the work, this central idea is kept clearly before the reader. Many happy applications are made not only to the great issues of eternal life, but to many of the problems which vex the modern social reformer, such as the inequalities of human life. If the leaven of our equality in Christ as beautifully outlined in chapter XI., could only find its way into the mass of seething human unrest, an easy solution would be found to the labour difficulties and class differences which are rending society.

We are grateful to the author for trying to supply a real want in English ascetical literature, a practical presentation of the great truths centering round the Mystery of the Incarnation.

We must confess, however, to a sense of disappointment that the directness of language, characteristic of the author's other works, is somewhat lacking in this He humbly compares his book with the labours of the carrier of the hod, in the work

of building up the Christian mind. The only justness we can recognise in the comparison is the weight of the load and its too solid consistency. Thus junks like the following might well be replaced by material of finer and more intelligible alloy :—

" The height and unchangeable finality of our Christology are the total if remote cause of all the higher life in Christ that is to be found in souls " (p. 10).

" Warning the Ephesians against the rampant lubricities of their pagan surroundings, he clinches the matter with this simple phrase " (p. 189).

The student of St. Paul's Epistles, who has not easy access to the rich literature of this class in French and German, will welcome " The Christian Mind."

When we turn to the *Divine Soliloquies* we instinctively pass from our desk to our priedieu. This little work betrays the hand or, rather, reveals the heart of a Religious who, " when he was sacristan, often stayed in choir after the brethren had left it, and remained there with hands and eyes raised to heaven . . . as though inebriated with the spirit of devotion." The translation is well done and preserves the unction of the original work.

Gerlac Petersen was a member of the Canons Regular of Deventer, whose community he entered in 1403. The Soliloquies were the intimate outpourings of his own heart in prayer, written for his own devotion on loose sheets of paper, and, after his death, arranged in the form in which we possess them. The little book has something of the charm of A'Kempis. It touches on the most sublime truths of the mystic union of the soul with God. Whilst there is closer sequence of thought in the arrangement than in A'Kempis, like A'Kempis, it may be opened at any chapter, and it will easily lead the soul to think divine thoughts and pray.

Souls desirous of Methodic Prayer will not be disappointed in Ridolfi's little manual. It is nothing if not methodic. " The divisions of Mental Prayer are three—the Preparation, the Body of the Prayer, and the Conclusion, and each of these in turn contains three points " (pp. 5-8).

As the editor says, it is another added to the already numerous stock of books which exist on this subject. It is a pity that we should be informed that " Meditation is but another name for Mental Prayer " (p. 4).

Meditation is, after all, but the lowest form of Mental Prayer, as our Masters generally understand it, and certainly as developed in this manual. But the little book has its value, firstly from the point of view of the history of Asceticism, as indicating methods in vogue in the 17th century ; and secondly, many souls may be helped by the prayerful acts suggested, and as the translator points out, led on by them to Affective Prayer. G. B.

EPITOME THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Excerpta e Summa Theologiae Moralis R. P. Hieronymi Noldin, S.J. a Dr. Carolo Telch. Editio 5a. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1920. xliv × 602 pp. 20 fr.

REPETITORIUM THEOLOGIAE FUNDAMENTALIS, a P. Virgilio Wass, O.S.F.C. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1921. xlviii × 328. 15 fr.

Father Telch's Summary of the great work of the veteran Jesuit moralist, Noldin, is perhaps better known on the Continent than here, where the Epitomes of Arregui and Ferreres dispute with it the field. For all, however, who have or have not had Noldin as their text-book, this epitome of Telch will be invaluable. Brought fully up to date and to the requirements of the new Code of Canon Law and the later decisions of the Holy See, this fifth edition requires little recommendation : it is Fr. Noldin's great work, faithfully and brilliantly epitomised by one who was formerly a pupil of his at the University of Innsbruck, and later Professor himself of Moral Theology in the U.S.A. Printed in fine India paper and of a very handy *format* (on which, by the way, Ferreres' Epitome has been modelled), it reflects extraordinary credit on the Innsbruck Catholic publisher, Rauch, whom we are glad to see has successfully survived the late ruinous war.

The second book under review—*Repetitorium Theologiae Fundamentalis*—is from the same publisher and is even more attractive, if possible, in its external make up. The author, Professor at Salzburg, is a distinguished dogmatic Theologian, already known by his Theologia Fundamentalis in *Tabellenform*. We have in this *Repetitorium* (primarily designed for Theological students of his order delayed by the war) a really excellent Summary of Fundamental Theology. The *brevitas sermonis*, so often lacking in theological text-books, makes the perusal of the volume quite refreshing as well as exceedingly useful for examination purposes. We miss nothing of importance in Fr. Wass' treatment of the varied questions touching the origin of Religion, Revelation and its sources, the Church, the relation of faith

to science, &c., &c., Perhaps he is all too brief on the gospels as authentic sources, and he makes no mention of the special difficulties raised by St. John's Gospel, or the attitude of modern criticism to the same. Fr. Wass is especially successful in his exposé and refutation of the errors of Modernism throughout the book.

The *Index rerum analyticus* (pp. xxv.-xlviii.) as well as the Tables and General Index at the end leave nothing to be desired. J. J. C.

Books also received:

MARTHE ALAMBERT ... A Life's Oblation. The Biography of Geneviève Hennet de Goutel. (Burns O. W., 6*s*.).

POPE BENEDICT XV ... St. Jerome and the Holy Scripture. (Burns O. W., 1*s*.).

ST. BERNARD ... Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year. Translated by a Priest of Mt. Melleray (Browne & Nolan, 10*s*.).

SEBASTIAN BOWDEN ... Spiritual Teaching of. Edited by the Fathers of the Oratory. (Burns O. W., 6*s*.).

CHARLES BOYER ... Christianisme et Neo-Platonisme dans la Formation de S. Augustin. (Beauchesne, 12 fr.).
L'Idée de Vérité dans la Philosophie de S. Augustin (Beauchesne, 16fr.).

MAIRE NI CHEALLACHAIN Irish at Home. (Maunsel, 2*s*. 6*d*.).

GEORGE T. DALY ... Catholic Problems in Western Canada. (Macmillan, $2.50).

LEON DAUDET ... Vers le Roi. (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 7fr.)

BERNHARD DUHR ... Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge. (G. J. Manz, M.150).

GEORGE W. EDWARDS ... New York as an 18th Century Municipality. (King, 16*s*.)

JOSEPH HANLY ... Mixed Farming. (Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 21*s*.).

SIR LANCELOT HARE ... Currency and Employment. (King, 2*s*. 6*d*.).

CHARLES HART ... A Shorter Bible History for the Use of Catholic Students. (Burns O. W., 3*s*. 6*d*.)

LAURENCE J. KETTLE ... Irish Coal and Coalfields. (Author).

M. V. K. ... St. Louis of Anjou. (Sands, 4*s*.).

BEDE JARRETT ... The English Dominicans. (Burns O. W., 18*s*.).

GABRIEL F. POWERS ... A Woman of the Bentivoglios. (Ave Maria Press).

C. LATTEY (Editor) ... The Religion of the Scriptures. Papers from the Catholic Bible Congress held at Cambridge, 1921. (Heffer, 3*s*. 6*d*.).

C. LATTEY AND OTHERS ... The New Testament. Vol. III. St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches. (Longmans, 8*s*. 6*d*.).

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH ... A Prisoner of the Reds. (Murray, 18*s*.).

TERENCE MACSWINEY ... Principles of Freedom. (Talbot Press, 5*s*.).

ARNOLD MARSH ... Ulstermen. A Play in three Acts. (Maunsel, 2*s*.).

CONSTANTIA MAXWELL ... The Foundations of Modern Ireland. (S.P.C.K., 1*s*. 6*d*.).

JAMES O'KANE ... The Rubrics of the Roman Ritual. New Edition. Revised and edited by Most Rev. Thomas O'Doherty, D.D. (Duffy, 16*s*.).

GERALD O'NOLAN ... Introduction to Studies in Modern Irish. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 5*s*.).

KOSTES PALAMAS ... A Hundred Voices and other Poems. Translated, with introduction and notes, from Modern Greek. (Harvard University Press, 2.50).

ARTHUR S. PEASE ... M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione Liber Primus. (University of Illinois, $1.50).

ROGER LAMBELIN ... Le Règne d'Israel chez les Anglo-Saxons. (Grasset, 6fr. 75).

N. M. MILLER SURREY ... The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763. (King, 16*s*.).

J. HERBERT WILLIAMS ... Pope Pius IX. (Sands, 2*s*.).

BENEDICT WILLIAMSON ... Supernatural Mysticism. (Kegan Paul, 10*s*. 6*d*.).

E. M. WILMOT-BUXTON Gildersleeves. (Sands, 2*s*.).

GEORGE A. WOOD ... William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756. (King. 18*s*.).
The Love of the Sacred Heart. Illustrated by St. Gertrude. (Burns O. W., 6*s*.).

(*The prices of all books in this list are net*).

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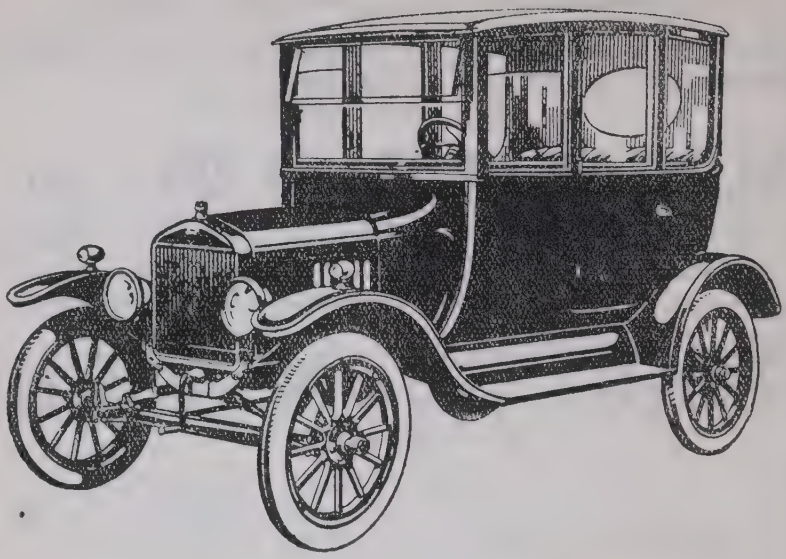

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